

IN THESE TIMES



WOMEN
& THE
ARTS

Page 20

VOL. 4, NO. 8

JANUARY 16-22, 1980

75 CENTS

RUSSIA'S VIET- NAM

Soviet troops seized
the government in
Afghanistan; rural
guerrilla war goes on

PAGE

7



DOUGLAS

PAGE
LATIN AMERICAN
FILM'S NEW WAVE

12

THE INSIDE STORY



American Graffiti.

Down and out with '70s culture

By John Judis

If films, popular movies, and literature contained any vitality in the '70s, it was largely because they were dying embers of the cultural explosion of the '60s. By the end of the '70s, American popular culture reentered the wasteland it inhabited earlier.

What made the '60s unique was the unification in popular art of what Van Wyck Brooks, writing in 1915, called the "two main currents in the American mind"—the "high brow," which is characterized by unworldly idealism, arcane standards, studious refinement and pristine elegance, and the "low brow," which is characterized by "catchpenny opportunism," pragmatism, crass commercialism, and anti-intellectualism.

In the '60s, the existence of popular social and political movements made possible an art that was worldly and popular, but also critical, idealistic, and experimental. These movements, broadly grouped around the "counter-culture," provided an audience that was willing to tolerate the initial incoherence and ugliness of avant-garde experimentalism. And the movements created a general milieu where homosexuality, women's rights, black anger, criminals, and alleged traitors could become complex subjects for popular drama.

The most striking example of the freedom and experimentalism of the '60s artist was in popular music. Bob Dylan's best and most popular albums—*Highway 61 Revisited* and *Blonde on Blonde*—contained 20-minute cuts (previously found only on avant-garde jazz records) and songs whose lyrics were as jagged and abstract as any modern poem.

The same brash experimentalism was found in the fiction of Kurt Vonnegut, Joseph Heller (whose *Catch-22* only became popular in the '60s), and Thomas Pynchon, in the "new journalism" of Hunter Thompson and Tom Wolfe, and in the "pop art" of Andy Warhol, Claes Oldenburg and Roy Lichtenstein.

In the '70s, as the political movements that spurred the counter-culture began to disappear, popular art retreated to its traditional Brooksonian compartments. "Pop art" became "op art," the Grateful Dead gave way to the Bee-Gees, and Kurt Vonnegut was replaced by Donald Barthelme.

But the process of decline was not without redeeming trends, nor did it occur suddenly on Jan. 1, 1970. Because of the amount of capital involved in movies and television and the consequent need for enormous guaranteed audiences, movie producers—and much more so, television producers—were initially hesitant to finance ventures that reflected the questions and concerns raised by the '60s movements. (They never came to tolerate much artistic experimentation.) The

film studios "discovered" the new concerns of the '60s in about 1968; it took television until 1970. As a result, both these media experienced creative revivals that lasted through the early '70s.

1968 to 1975 was a veritable golden age for American films. A short list of outstanding films would include the two *Godfather* epics, *Mean Streets*, *American Graffiti*, *Cabaret*, *Klute*, *Midnight Cowboy*, *Five Easy Pieces*, *Bonnie and Clyde*, *Sleeper*, *MASH*, and *McCabe and Mrs. Miller*. Even the most commercially motivated movies of the period—*Jaws*, *The Sting*, and *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*—managed to transcend their ready-to-wear plots and characters.

None of these movies simply reflected or exploited the counter-culture. Instead, they drew upon its questions. Martin Scorsese and Francis Ford Coppola's films were, in part, anti-counter-culture polemics on behalf of the forgotten white ethnics. Lucas's *Graffiti*, Peter Bogdanovich's *The Last Picture Show* and John Huston's *Fat City* were defenses of small-town America.

Coppola's *Godfather* films challenged the liberal stereotypes of Italians and the Mafia, while depicting the Mafia, American big business and pre-Castro Cuba in a way that would never have been possible before the '60s movements.

In the early '70s, even television followed suit—with *All in the Family*, *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, *MASH*, and later *Mary Hartman*, *Saturday Night Live* and *Roots*.

Decline and fall.

By the mid-'70s critical film-making was in full retreat. Film-makers like Robert Altman, Francis Ford Coppola, and Martin Scorsese did not abandon their quest for a popular and critical cinema—they just seemed to lose their moorings. After *California Split*, Altman's films became, in Pat Aufderheide's words, "alternately more facile and more obscure." The hollow diatribes that underscore *Nashville* or the late Altman-produced *Welcome to L.A.* resemble Joseph Heller in his ill-humored *Good as Gold*.

Coppola's *Apocalypse Now* ended up a monument of confusion. Coppola's script was hopelessly torn between two incompatible views of American involvement in Vietnam: Americans as surfing cultural imperialists and American generals as sissies and witless bureaucrats who should have started cutting off Vietnamese arms if they had wanted to win. Coppola's *Godfather II*, which was not "about" the Vietnam War, depicted far more coherently the inner corruption and the expansionary mentality that led to the war.

Other directors simply capitulated to crass commercialism. George Lucas's *American Graffiti* was a bitter-sweet look at pre-Vietnam America—the nostalgia it evoked was used to highlight the innocence of the period. But in *Star Wars*, Lucas simply exploited people's nostalgia for old Flash Gordon films, while also appealing to pre-teen interest in intergalactic gun battles. Lucas's playful irony allows an adult audience to distance itself from the blatant idiocy of the movie's plot and characters without providing any meaningful reflection upon human nature, space, or life in the 20th century.

In the other media of the '70s, the decline occurred earlier. After his *Fear and Loathing on the Campaign Trail*, which was already downhill from his *Las Vegas* tour, Hunter Thompson suffered the same burnout that earlier befell Ken Kesey. Most of the major '60s rock groups either disbanded, died off, or suffered slow decline. There came to be little difference between the popular music of the mid- and late '70s and the trite and monotonous popular music of the pre-rock era, except it is now more clearly marketed at a teenage audience.

But the late '70s have not been a total washout. In four different areas, artists have been able to draw some sustenance from the period.

Political diversions.

•The '70s led to a revival of comedy, which always thrives during times when the public desires some distance from its everyday realities. Some of the '70s comics like Steve Martin and the post-*Blazing Saddles* Mel Brooks uncritically exploit this need through self-indulgence and madcap nostalgia. Others like Woody Allen or Randy Newman have used it critically.

•There has been a spate of socially critical films, largely inspired by and featuring Jane Fonda. These films still draw on the '60s and on the remains of the women's movement and the fledgling anti-nuclear movement. But Fonda's films take up political issues in ways that consciously divert an audience unwilling to endure polemics and documentaries. *Coming Home*, *Julia*, *China Syndrome*, and *Electric Horseman* are all message-dramas of this kind. But by subordinating plot and character to a message, they tend to deprive art of its power to surprise.

•Films, novels, and television have drawn inspiration directly from the feminist movement, but they have done so in a way that reflects the narrow preoccupations with lifestyle possibilities among professionals in New York City's Upper East Side or Beverly Hills. While some concern with feminist issues makes *An Unmarried Woman*, *Manhattan*, *10*, *Starting Over* and *Kramer vs. Kramer* more interesting than most current movies, these films are also maddeningly provincial.

•The same subterranean stream that has run through all art since World War II runs through the '70s—the angry murmur of adolescents unwilling to accept their fate as American adults. In the '50s, it inspired rock and roll and juvenile delinquent movies, which sometimes inadvertently expressed the passionate anger of their subjects. In the '60s, it inspired a large social movement and a cultural explosion. And in the '70s, it stimulated some isolated outbursts, which were then mistaken for revivals. The anger broke through in the music of Bruce Springsteen and Patti Smith, in Richard Price's novels, and in films like *Saturday Night Fever* and *Breaking Away*.

But without any social or political movement to which to relate these outbursts, they soon subside. Artists like Bruce Springsteen become absorbed into the show-business world, and their songs either begin to mirror these narrow concerns or to become parodies of their former adolescent rage. The punk rock revival, which had its base among British working class kids, could not be successfully transferred to the U.S. Its principal group, the Sex Pistols, disbanded during their American tour. And American "new wave" groups like Talking Heads and Blondie have become socialized into being pleasant melodizers.

Van Wyck Brooks was deeply pessimistic about the ability of American artists to produce a popular and critical art. He maintained that "society whose end is impersonal and anti-social cannot produce an ideal reflex in literature which is personal and social, and conversely, an ideal reflex in literature [i.e. a genius] produced by such a society will be unable to educate its own personal and social instincts."

Brooks' analysis captures the fate of many fledgling artists during the '70s, but the cultural experience of the '60s also holds open a more hopeful future for American art and literature. An ideal reflex depends, I would say, on the existence of widespread social and political movements debating and battling over the questions that a healthy popular art must concern itself with. Such movements were largely absent in the '70s, and popular art suffered accordingly. ■

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IN THESE TIMES

The Chicago bailout is a sellout

By David Moberg

WHODDY GUTHRIE ONCE sang the warning that some thieves would rob you with a six-gun, others with a fountain pen. Chicagoans are now learning a similar lesson: some *coup d'états* are made with tanks, others with financial bonds and certificates.

After nearly two months of scrambling to dig out of the financial mudslide precipitated by a downgrading of the school district's bonds, city and state officials, bankers and some union leaders have come up with a plan that will turn over the ultimate management of the city's schools to an "oversight committee" dominated by businessmen and bankers.

By withholding their money in a "bankers' strike," the city's financial elite, with the enthusiastic collaboration of politicians such as Republican Gov. James Thompson, has forced a suspension of democracy so that they can impose an austerity budget that will probably involve at least \$60 million in cuts from the \$1.3 billion budget this year, loss of 2,000 teaching jobs, closing of up to 35 schools, renegotiation of all union contracts and further cuts in the years to come, possibly along with higher taxes. New York's Emergency Financial Control Board has become the model for "solving" urban fiscal ills.

It is ironic that direct capitalist control of the schools, only slightly tempered by the political system, should be offered as the solution to the school crisis. Years of corporate exploitation of the schools, combined with the machine politics and racial manipulation that made Chicago a "city that works" in the narrow, short-term interest of business, brought the schools to their current impasse. (ITT, Dec. 19, 1979).

The direct takeover of the schools has startled some citizens, especially black community and political leaders, into a fight to limit the powers of any oversight committee.

Indirectly the business and banking interests have long had great influence over the schools and profited handsomely from their clout. The costs to the schools have stemmed from lost revenues, extra capital costs and waste that was part of the machine control of the city.

During the past decade, for example, the collection of corporate personal property taxes dropped from an already low rate of 63 percent in 1971 to 40 percent for 1978. Nearly \$300 million was lost in 1978 alone. Corporate cheating on taxes has also cost city schools nearly \$40 million a year in lost state aid.

To put the current crisis in perspective, approximately \$459 million is needed to put the school system back on a sound financial footing, analysts have advised the board.

The corporate personal property tax was replaced in 1979 by a one percent increase in the corporate income tax, but that only "replaces" the tax as previously collected, not those assessed and properly due to the schools.

Businesses have also plundered the schools in other ways. Many businesses are greatly underassessed, and reductions in assessments of prime corporate property totaling \$1.1 billion were routinely granted during a seven-year period. A 1975 study concluded that Chicago schools were then losing at least \$50 million a year due to underassessments.

Businesses—as well as the city of Chicago—also have benefitted at school expense from the board's leasing and sale of valuable properties somewhere between \$5 and \$100 million below the market value annually.

Banks and the wealthy individuals who buy municipal bonds have made



fisted tax cutter and playing to downstate and suburban antipathy to Chicago and its largely black school population, blocked the move.) Then there could have been a full investigation of the financial scandal, indictments where necessary, a turnover of the school board and top officials, aggressive collection of back corporate taxes, reform of assessments, and cutbacks in administrative overhead.

Instead, over the weekend of Jan. 5, after teachers had just missed a second payday and Thompson could appear to make a dramatic last-minute rescue, a plan was worked out that had as its centerpiece restoring "business confidence" in the schools by establishing the five-member bankers' committee to oversee the schools.

The banks that had made so much from the schools and stand to make so much more now with higher interest rates that result from the bond downgrading refused to bail out the schools. Instead, the city loaned the schools \$50 million that it borrowed from a bank consortium and from a group of unions at a rate considered astronomically high for tax-free municipal bonds (10.675 percent, well above the benchmark rate of 7.32 percent and effectively 21.35 percent for an investor in a 50 percent tax bracket). The state loaned \$50 million and advanced some state aid. That covered immediate bills.

To get through the school year, the city will issue \$225 million in bonds to be repaid by taxes the school board collects later. Then the control board will issue \$500 million in long-term bonds to retire short-term debt and provide cash for the schools.

Most independent black political leaders were alarmed that this plan—worked out with only one black aide to the teachers' union president present—might install the bankers' committee for as many years as the long-term bonds last. When they questioned Mayor Jane Byrne about the committee, she told them that Wall Street and LaSalle Street (Chicago's financial district) demanded it. They also appear to be demanding that the oversight committee have the power to approve or disapprove all budget cuts, borrowing, labor contracts or changes in contracts as well as to appoint the chief financial officer without board review and to levy taxes.

Black community groups and many local and state legislators are trying to shorten the life of any oversight committee, restrain its powers to cut, and maintain maximum public review of board members and their actions. They are concerned that the committee will be mostly white and possibly drawn from the suburbs, just like the apparent choice to head the committee, Jerome W. Van Gorkum, president of Trans Union Corporation.

The teachers union, which has been based on a collaboration with the school board and Democratic machine that provided higher salaries in exchange for silence on the system's skulduggery, malfeasance, racial discrimination and miseducation, has made no move to align itself with parents and student interests.

Seeing the move as a collapse of a democratic institution and a threat to the education of black children, black leaders are drawn into a more explicit class conflict. "The school system's priority and mission is education," black board member Ms. Carey Preston told a community meeting. "It is not simply paying back dollars that are borrowed."

But those priorities of values—never pursued very vigorously in the past—have now been shunted aside as the governing power of capital that has always worked on the city schools in an indirect fashion now comes out into the open. ■

Following the model of NYC, Chicago "solved its school finance crisis by turning administration of the public agency over to a board of bank and business interests.

hundreds of millions of dollars in interest over the past decade on short-term bonds and certificates issued to cover expenses until taxes or aid arrived. (Although banks and savings and loans collect real estate taxes monthly on their mortgages, they pay the taxes only twice a year—collecting interest both on the taxes and on the bonds sold in anticipation of the schools' receipt of those taxes.) Debt service as a fraction of the school budget has risen over 50 percent in the past decade. The problem worsened as the city administration attempted to keep taxes down—to please business—but incurred growing costs.

Much of the rising cost came from waste tied to the political aims of business and the machine. For example, in the past decade the portion of the budget devoted to administrative costs doubled. Roughly one-fourth of suburban school district employees are non-teachers, according to one study, compared to one-third in Chicago. In 1975 Chicago had 30 percent more principals and assistant principals than the national average. Much of the padding has been machine patronage: for example, 25 percent of

the district superintendents are Irish in a city that is four percent Irish (less in the schools) but has an old machine that wears the green as well as pockets it.

"The biggest single cost has been maintenance of segregation," George Schmidt, president of Substitutes United for Better Schools, argues. This year, with surplus space for 59,000 students, the school board is building six new schools at a cost, including interest, of nearly \$60 million. All are strategically located near the borders of racially changing neighborhoods to concentrate blacks and whites in separate schools rather than to disperse blacks to underused schools in white neighborhoods and further the legally mandated desegregation of the schools. Schmidt estimates that the schools lose \$90 million a year in federal aid that is unavailable because of their segregation, which businesses have not opposed.

The school system had options. The state could easily have loaned the schools the money for an interim bailout from its cash surplus of \$438 million. (The Democratic treasurer tried, but Gov. Thompson, building his image as a tight-

IN SHORT

OCAW strikes at 100 oil refineries

For the first time in 11 years, the Denver based Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union (OCAW) has called a nationwide strike, affecting more than 100 companies.

OCAW represents about 60,000 refinery workers in the United States and Canada. Although the union is asking for substantial wage increases, its number one priority is company paid health care. OCAW president Robert Goss is anxious to establish a standardized health care package instead of one for each of the union's 411 bargaining units.

"Health care is all over the ballpark," Goss said. "Costs and benefits levels are all over. We've proposed one benefit level for everyone."

Goss, who as a machinist went on his first strike in 1948 against Union Oil in Los Angeles, said there is no reason for not having fully paid health benefits in light of "excessive oil company profits."

A year ago, OCAW agreed to a two year contract providing increased company contributions to health plans and a small annual wage hike. But negotiators also agreed to allow renewed discussion of wages, health benefits and vacations midway through the contract. Last year's contract was negotiated within the government's wage and price guidelines and OCAW accepted a five percent wage hike guarantee for 1980. But, said Goss recently, "inflation has exceeded anything we thought possible. This year, we decided not to volunteer to go along with the voluntary guidelines."

Several companies accepted OCAW's offer to keep workers on the job long enough to execute an orderly shutdown, but other refineries have continued operating with supervisory personnel.

Goss said the strike should not affect gasoline supplies or prices. "The refinery labor cost is less than one cent per gallon of gas. Even if the oil companies double our wages, it won't bother you at the gas pumps," he said.

In 1969, when OCAW last struck nationwide, the walkout lasted from a week to three months depending on the companies.

—Timothy Lange

Class Struggle banned by store

Left-wing funnyman Bertell Ollman's board game Class Struggle has been banned as "subversive" by Canada's T. Eaton Company department store chain.

Ollman, a political science professor at New York University who once peddled the Monopoly-style game in *IN THESE TIMES*, says the ban apparently



Game inventor Bertell Ollman.



Ford Pinto homicide trial opens in tiny Indiana town

Jury selection began in Ford Motor Company's reckless homicide trial last week at Winamac, Ind. Twelve jurors will decide if Ford knowingly swapped lives for dollars on Pinto gasoline tank safety features.

In a rare case of corporate morality on trial, jurors will hear Elkhart, Ind., prosecutor Michael Cosentino argue that three teen-aged women killed 17 months ago in a 1973 Pinto might have lived if the company valued life as much as the estimated \$11 it would have taken to prevent the women's gas tank from exploding and burning them.

The trial was moved to Winamac, a small farming community about 50 miles away from the Elkhart area crash site in a change of venue move by Ford.

Cosentino told *IN THESE TIMES* under Indiana law, Ford only faces a \$30,000 fine "but the corporation could be put on probation and ordered to correct

their mistakes."

Observers believe the trial—expected to last 12 weeks—could also set new standards for consumer safety. Cosentino will be fighting the nation's fifth richest corporation with his county's \$20,000 legal budget.

While Ford employees do not face any jail sentences, possible targets for implication in the homicide case are former Ford boss Lee Iacocca and Henry Ford II.

James F. Neal, a Tennessee trial lawyer and one-time Watergate prosecutor, will defend the company. He's expected to argue that no car is perfect and that 1971-76 Pinto's met federal safety standards.

Former Ford vice president Harley Copp and auto safety expert Byron Bloch—both with previous experience in anti-Pinto lawsuits—are expected to take the stand against the company along with other technical experts.

they had sold their political souls," the *Globe and Mail* said.

TDU wins at 3 Teamsters locals

Dissident Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) took all seven top seats for officers of Teamsters Local 690 in Spokane, Wash., along with an election victory in British Columbia and a contested win in Hartford, Conn., according to TDU national spokesperson Ken Paff.

In what TDU called an "extremely unusual" move, seven incumbents at the eastern Washington state trucking local were dumped for the reform candidates.

TDU said "victories like this are contagious and shock waves will be felt throughout" the union's western conference.

Robert "Rocky" Lattanzio, who helped found Local 690's TDU faction in 1977, was chosen for the top-ranking secretary-treasurer job at the 3,000 member local.

In Hartford, Conn., TDU activist Bob Dubian won the top spot in Teamster Local 559. But the election was quickly overturned by the Connecticut Teamster Joint Council over alleged

voting irregularities and rescheduled for Jan. 20.

TDU charges the new date—which coincides with Superbowl Sunday—is a "trick" aimed at taking advantage of what is expected to be football-induced low voter turnout.

At the largest Teamster trucking local in western Canada—British Columbia's Local 31—mail balloting during December yielded a seat on the local's executive board for TDU member Bob Edwards. TDU says their movement is now well established in the four largest Canadian Teamsters locals

Press Connection closes in Madison

Madison Press Connection editor Ron McCrea said last week he expected the worker-owned daily to finalize its shutdown over the weekend after losing a hard-fought battle against undercapitalization. Publication had come to a halt Jan. 3.

Many of the alternative paper's 50 member staff were strikers in an almost three year old union busting stalemate at Madison Newspapers, Inc. The National Labor Relations Board is continuing to prosecute the company for causing and continuing the strike, McCrea said.

The *Press Connection's* staff had agreed to work for less than subsistence wages throughout the paper's two year life, making a living on side jobs like cab driving and house painting.

"The paper survived on spirit from day one," said McCrea, who edited by day and played piano in a bar at night.

He said the paper's production staff and typesetting equipment will be kept in operation as a job printshop.

Chicagoans hit Afghan invasion

A group of Chicago-based anti-war activists are calling for the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

"As Chicagoans who actively opposed our own government's intervention in Vietnam in the '60s, we strongly condemn the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and demand the immediate evacuation of all foreign troops from the country," their statement said.

"As in the case of the U.S. in Vietnam, Soviet intervention in Afghanistan represents a violation of the United Nations charter and of the principle of non-intervention and a denial of the rights of the Afghan people to self-determination.

"Furthermore, it presents a new threat to world peace and will speed up the already insane arms race with diversion of more and more of the world's resources from human needs to the war machines," the statement said.

The denunciation is signed by Jane Kennedy; Citizens Party activist Don Rose; Mobilization for Survival leader Sidney Lens; Cook County Hospital chief of medicine Quentin Young; United Steelworkers District 31 assistant director Ed Sadlowski; Troy Chapman; Institute of Women Today director Margaret Ellen Traxler; Women for Peace chair Shirley Lens; Ethical Humanists Society of Greater Chicago leader Harold J. Quigley; AFSCME activist staffer Paul Booth; Service Employees International Local 372 president Hazen Griffin and SEIU Local 372 vice president Mary Beth Guinan; civil rights attorney Richard M. Guttman; journalists Ron Dorfman, Jerry DeMuth, Hank DeZutter and John Rossen; and Jewish Council on Urban Affairs director Milton Cohen.

IN THE NATION

TRAINS

Transit workers under attack

By David Moberg

AFTER THREE MONTHS ON strike, workers for the Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) returned to their jobs with their cost-of-living protection slashed in half. A few days later, on Dec. 17, Chicago bus and elevated train drivers walked out in their first full strike since 1919.

They returned four days later after a court injunction submitted their dispute with the Chicago Transit Authority on cost of living protection and other work rules changes to arbitration if the two sides can't reach an agreement by the end of February.

Transit workers in major cities, who are nearly completely unionized and often have strong contracts, are getting a taste of the harsh medicine that has been doled out to public workers under the banner of fighting inflation. Transit system managers have targeted in particular the strong cost-of-living adjustment (COLA) clauses that provide a percentage increase in pay for each percentage rise in the cost of living. They are also pressing for more part-time workers and, in the Chicago case, for changes in promotion schedules that would start workers at much lower levels and require as many as 12 years, instead of three, to reach the standard salary.

American Transit Union (ATU) vice-president Walter Bierwagen sees a growing tendency for transit system managers to plead that they are unable to pay more—citing Proposition 13-style legislation or sentiments—and then adopt a tough line. In some cases they refuse to arbitrate, a traditional means of settling stalled disputes in the transit business (the ATU constitution even requires its locals to offer to arbitrate before a strike can be authorized). Then they may try to block a strike, arguing that the workers are public employees, although the union maintains they work for “quasi-public” agencies that sell a service and often used to be private firms. Or in some cases, such as Norfolk, Va., Bierwagen says, management may try to force a strike, since “they thought they could break the union by mobilizing public opinion against us.”

Public opinion was mobilized against BART and CTA strikers. Press coverage in Chicago was very critical of the strikers, who are the highest paid in the country (earning around \$22,000 a year after they reach full pay). Mayor Jane Byrne threatened to mobilize the poor, housewives and even her daughter to run the buses and trains in the event of a strike and did succeed in getting some strikebreakers to operate a few trains and buses.

Thomas Roth, a transit labor union consultant, sees less of a crackdown than a problem with public managers unaccustomed to dealing with the transit workers, who have union traditions and contracts that often originated in much earlier negotiations with private owners. “These new managers would like to treat them like other public em-

ployees, ‘We’ll set the wage rates and you take it,’ ” Roth says.

Byrne’s toughness in Chicago may have had to do as much with keeping other city workers in line—and out of unions—as with fighting the transit workers themselves. Many Chicago public workers, most immediately the firemen, are demanding that Byrne deliver on her promise to end the old era of “handshake” agreements and limited unionization, although her tune has changed since she became mayor. Also, with Chicago’s finances becoming more precarious and with the mayor apparently feeling a greater need to win approval of business and financial powers, opposition to the full cost-of-living protection for transit workers was a necessary prelude to resisting future demands by other employees. Public opinion seemed racially split with blacks more sympathetic to demands of the largely black and black-led unions.

A presumed deal worked out with the mayor—which would have made COLA payments less frequent and instituted a 14 percent annual limit in exchange for a package of benefits—fell through as CTA officials pressed for further concessions. The injunction ending the strike guaranteed full cost-of-living payments during the negotiating period but left the final word on other matters up to arbitration if there is no agreement. Consultants to transit unions argue that arbitrators have generally upheld established union COLA plans, although some modifications may be made.

BART workers lost their full COLA and now have a formula that will pay one cent for each 0.4 increase in the Consumer Price Index after October, 1981. Until then they receive only a four percent and then a three percent wage increase. But BART will pay for workers’ pensions, which had cost them around seven percent of their take-home pay. Union officials claim the value of the package equals what the full COLA would have brought, but management has shifted the risk of inflation to workers.

The future looks grim to most transit union leaders and advisors. “I perceive this year of negotiations to be tough,” Roth says. “Both parties are hardening their positions. Negotiations are harder to settle. But it’s not that much different from how private industry and public workers generally are doing.” ■



N.Y.C. union threatens strike

By Joe Conason

NEW YORK CITY MAY FIND ITSELF without bus or subway service on April Fool's Day. John Lawe, the president of Transport Workers Union Local 100 (TWU), says his workers will walk without a 30 percent wage increase over two years. The new chairman of the Metropolitan Transit Authority (MTA), Richard Ravitch, says he is ready to take a strike to avoid an “unconscionable pay increase.”

Lawe's militancy is new for him. Two years ago, when he fought off a rank-and-file movement to reject a poor contract he had negotiated, Lawe went into court to stop militants from distributing literature critical of his “sellout.”

But he knows that his job is at stake. After rising in the shadow of the legendary Mike Quill to the presidency of TWU's largest local, Lawe just barely held on in local elections last month, winning fewer than 10,000 votes out of almost 24,000 cast. Had the three slates opposing Lawe united, he would have been beaten easily. And even though Lawe held on, his control of the rank-and-file is certainly open to question. Lawe was utterly unable to suppress his opposition during the election, and he won't be able to mute opposition to a bad contract this time around.

Both workers and bosses seem to think they'll achieve their goals only through a strike. Even bus drivers, normally the most conservative of transit employees, tell reporters that, “If we don't get nothing, we don't roll nothing. The sub-

way workers, whose working conditions resemble an urban coal mine, are traditionally tough and are still upset over the last contract.

The MTA hierarchy also seems ready for a strike. They recently took a strike on the Long Island Railroad, after stalling negotiations for a year. Union observers believe the Long Island strike was meant as a warning to the city transit workers. But even if they take a strike, the MTA has made it clear that they prefer a strike led by John Lawe. Like the rest of the city's elite, they would rather put off the day when the old-line, white-dominated municipal labor leadership is replaced by more militant, younger black and Hispanic leaders.

By late summer it was clear that Lawe had reelection problems. And up until the nomination period ended on October 10, there was always a chance of a unified opposition slate with an excellent opportunity to win. The prospect of union democracy alarmed the city establishment. During a private meeting with top MTA executives in November, Lawe asked that they give in on some union safety demands so he'd have something to offer his people. At the same meeting, it was agreed that union and management would intensify their attacks on each other prior to the election, to boost Lawe's credibility with the workers.

This game is part of a broader cooperation between union and management—an unwritten pact in which the union never criticizes the mismanagement and decay of the transit system, except in a perfunctory or theatrical way; it represents the workers halfheartedly and the riders not at all. The state reciprocates with enough in wages and benefits—barely—to maintain labor peace and lets the union collect “agency shop” dues from all transit workers, whether or not they have joined the union.

Suffering under this arrangement are the riders and workers, who have never united behind a program to rebuild the system, stop service cuts, and end fare hikes. Many chances to build this coalition have passed without initiative from either group, though the burden is clearly upon the union, which spends its large political resources on bolstering the worst elements of the Democratic party establishment.

The most blatant example of this, of course, is Westway. While transit and environmental advocates press for a trade-in of the \$1.2 billion superhighway for mass transit funds—a position echoed by some of the insurgent unionists—the MTA chairman and TWU officials both back Westway with enthusiasm.

The long decline.

Years ago, when Michael Quill ran the TWU, its members' wages and conditions were adequate if not extraordinary. Money was relatively abundant and Quill would strike to get some; he did so twice, in 1955 and 1966. The union was then mostly white and Irish, and the transit system was just beginning to show its age. Problems like health and safety or inadequate pensions hadn't yet penetrated worker consciousness.

Since Quill's death in 1966, the power of the transit workers has declined, along with real wages and working conditions. The slide has quickened during the fiscal crisis, and both the workforce and the workplace have altered. The union's membership, particularly in the subways, is now mostly black and Hispanic. The pension system, a “three-tier” maze, has many older and middle-aged members worried about their future, while the younger ones wonder how their health is being affected by the steel dust, asbestos and industrial-solvent fumes they breathe daily. As maintenance of the system's cars, rails, and power lines deteriorates, and the work gangs shrink from attrition, everyday work has grown more hazardous.

Quill's successors, Matthew Guinan and now John Lawe, have seemed unable

Continued on page 6.

Union

Continued on page 5.

to resist the attacks on their workers, let alone win improvements. The power of management to harass and divide the workers is greater than ever. The union has done little to fight the transfer of workers from maintenance to other jobs, nor has it done anything to curtail the "beakies"—MTA investigators—who spy on workers at home and on the job in the name of productivity.

Sustained expressions of worker discontent began in 1972, when a poor contract provoked wildcat strikes by some of the normally conservative bus drivers. The wildcats were crushed and the contract accepted, but some of the activists regrouped later to form the Committee of Concerned Transit Workers, with members from all over the system. This organization sued the union for combining the contract votes of bus drivers and subway workers, a dissident tactic to oppose the contract. Only a handful of those involved in the earlier uprising are among the dissident leaders today.

Simultaneously, the disenfranchised black and Hispanic members of TWU began to demand a voice in the union. In 1972, a group called Rank and File, which drew much of its inspiration and rhetoric from the black power movement, attempted to have the TWU decertified as their bargaining agent. This move toward dual unionism fell apart, and Rank and File dissolved.

Little was heard from the dissidents until last year, when some new and old activists banded together to prevent passage of the last contract. Motorman Henry Lewis called the first meeting to protest the proposed contract. He started his own organization, the Coalition of Concerned Transit Workers, a name easily confused with the still active Committee of Concerned Transit Workers. Among those who plotted strategy against the union administration was

George McDonald, a car maintenance worker. The dissident groups joined to file several lawsuits against the passage, most notably one which forced the union and the MTA to allow posting of dissident literature in the workers' crew quarters.

Through their collective action, the insurgents forced a second vote on the 1978 contract and began to be noticed by government and the media. The votes were very close; Lawe's contract passed by only 1000 ballots out of 24,000 cast. Afterward, the rebels went back to their workplaces and continued to organize small groups mainly by job category. At the end of 1978, there were at least seven such organizations within the union, with a few thousand members total who paid dues and read newsletters published by the activists. Workers began to talk about running a slate against the Lawe administration in the next union election.

But differing styles, personal conflicts and personal ambitions combined to undermine unity. Lewis, who is now 41, continued with his own group. McDonald quarreled with other members of the Committee of Concerned Transit Workers and broke away to form his own group, called The Committee.

Lewis, a black who admires the Reverend Herbert Daughtry and the Ayatollah Khomeini, and McDonald, who is white, 33 years old, and a conservative Vietnam vet, were never likely to get along. Lewis complains about McDonald collecting money for the police vest fund, and disdains McDonald's love of the American flag; he suspects "Brother George" of racism. McDonald thinks Lewis is a radical black nationalist, stuck in the 1960s, who is incapable of administering the union. Both are running on racially integrated slates, and both make the same complaints about working conditions and union laxity.

McDonald, Lewis, and other veteran dissidents made several attempts this year to forge a unified slate against Lawe. In January, leaders of the groups that fought the '78 contract chose a 15-member "unification committee," which met weekly in Manhattan for months.

But by late March the unification effort

was faltering. Both McDonald and Lewis wanted to run for president, and Lewis began to talk about leaving the coalition. He appeared on a WBAI radio show and stated openly that he was seeking the presidency of TWU Local 100. McDonald reacted by calling a press conference, where he announced his own candidacy. Over the following months, McDonald and Lewis each called a "convention," which selected candidates for various union posts. The organizations remaining in the shattered coalition, along with a few latecomers, announced that they would run a set of candidates poignantly titled "The Unity Slate."

Over the summer and early fall, several meetings and many phone calls went into a last-ditch effort to reunite. On October 6, the three candidates—Lewis, McDonald, and Unity leader Arnold Cherry—met in a marathon session with their supporters to resolve all disagreements. But no consensus on a candidate for president was reached, and the October 10 deadline for nominations passed with three insurgents where there should have been one.

Both Lewis and McDonald sensed Cherry was the frontrunner. (In fact, he got 6,000 votes to McDonald's 4,500 and Lewis's 2,500.) And both resented Cherry as something of a newcomer to the rank-and-file movement though Cherry, who is now 38, has been an active shop steward in the 207th Street car maintenance yards for four years.

All three men have organizational and leadership talents. But only Cherry seemed able to bring together a wide range of workers without being personally arrogant. His complaints against Lawe were like everyone else's. Lawe, he charged, was "a weak leader, who is really part and parcel of the MTA. He has no credibility. Here he is, demanding large wage increases just like last time, when he demanded 25 percent and got six percent...then he negotiated himself a 25 percent salary increase from the union. Lawe is locked into the old Democratic establishment, and that's where his base is."

Lawe is almost 60 years old, and he seems to see himself as beyond reproach

from the members who pay his salary. "I've done the job for my people," he says. "The opposition can promise the moon...they don't have to deliver." He pauses, thinking over his accomplishments. "We are the only union in this city which got its raises and COLA (cost of-living-adjustment) on time. We're the only union in the city today with a bill in the legislature to abolish the three-tier pension system." He doesn't mention that this bill, sponsored chiefly by Bronx machine Democrats, has no chance of passage.

Especially tiresome to Lawe were their complaints about health and safety problems. "If I was on the other side," he says, meaning the insurgents, not management, I'd probably say the same things. It's easy to make charges. This system has been running since 1904, and when the steel wheel meets the steel rail, it makes steel dust. It's a hazard of the job. Now I went down and I did see some areas where there was broken asbestos covering pipes. It was corrected. Safety has not been ignored and will not be ignored. But...how much can you really do about it? Sanitary conditions in the crew rooms and many other problems of this kind have been neglected for 20 years."

Many rank-and-file workers were disillusioned by the failure of the insurgents to unify. "You had a big chance," said one worker to Henry Lewis during the campaign, "and you blew it."

But most workers feel the election—in which insurgent candidates won half of the executive board seats—mattered, if only as a message to Lawe, as one put it, "that he's expendable if he can't produce."

After so many years of authoritarian rule, the assertion of democratic rights by TWU members can only increase their fury at the MTA's threats, the miserable working conditions, and the diminishing paychecks. New York hasn't been this close to a transit strike in 14 years, a shutdown which would abruptly halt the refurbishing of the city's image. ■

An earlier version of this article appeared in the *Village Voice*. It was written with the assistance of Paul A. DuBrul and David Neustadt.

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Edited by Dan Marschall with the assistance of The Ohio Public Interest Campaign (July 1979) 180 pp.

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By Fred Halliday

LONDON

IN THE WAKE OF RUSSIA'S MASSIVE intervention in Afghanistan, two opposed interpretations are being offered to explain the action. The Russians claim that they responded to an Afghan government request to assist it in fighting foreign intervention and that in accordance with the Afghan-Soviet treaty of December 1978 the USSR added to this request. The Americans add that this is a further index of Soviet expansionism and a prelude to further Soviet advances towards the oil fields and the warm water ports of the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean.

Neither of these interpretations is true. The Russian claim is false because it was Russian forces who, on December 27, overthrew the incumbent Afghan president, Hafizullah Amin, and installed his rival, Babrak Karmal. Amin probably asked for Russian troops to fight the rebels but the government that is now said to have invited the Russians in was established subsequent to the fact that it had been consolidated with Russian help. Moreover, the Russian claim about direct foreign interference in Afghanistan is wide of the mark: The fighting against the central government is being done by rebel Afghan tribesmen and there is no serious evidence of direct participation in the fighting by any foreign personnel. Nor had the level of this fighting changed to a significant extent in the period immediately prior to the overthrow of Amin in such a way as to necessitate an immediate Soviet intervention.

To explain why the Russians did go in one has to look at the situation in a different way, with the result that part of the blame for the situation in Afghanistan prior to their intervention must be laid at the Russians' door. At the same time cogent reasons for this action come into focus.

There were two central reasons why the Russians intervened. The first was that in the 20 months since the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan had come to power in a revolutionary coup of April 1978, much of the countryside—where 87 percent of Afghanistan's population live—had risen in revolt. Afghanistan is an extremely conservative country and the PDPA had alienated even those who might stand to benefit most from it—the rural poor—by pushing through reforms without proper preparation. This applied to such measures as the equalisation of nationalities, and the virtual abolition of the bride price, but above all to the land reform decree of December 1978.

But even if these reforms were bureaucratically and at times coercively imposed, few can doubt that they were changes long overdue in Afghanistan, a country with 90 percent illiteracy (98 percent among women) and an infant mortality rate of 269 per 1,000. The underlying cause of the resistance was the fact that these reforms threatened entrenched social interests: those of tribal chiefs and landowners, those of village elders, whose arrangement of marriages was an important source of social power, and those of all the rural population who lived off smuggling to Pakistan and resented any form of government control. Family heads actively intervened to prevent their women from attending literacy classes. (Visitors to the Afghan towns under Amin's regimes indicated that the one social group who seemed enthusiastically to support the regime were educated urban women.)

Foreign support.

This counter-revolutionary tendency could not have gained such a widespread hold on the country had it not received substantial support from abroad. The refugees who moved over to Pakistan, many as part of an annual migration pattern, were given money and shelter by the government there, and allowed to set up military camps from which to operate. In early 1979, when the guerrilla campaign was in its infancy, regular units of the Pakistani armed forces took part in cross-border raids. And from that time onwards other opponents of the Afghan government supplied aid to



Russian troops moving into Afghanistan.

IN THE WORLD

AFGHANISTAN

Russia takes on trouble

Widespread popular resistance shifts its focus from the ousted government to the New Soviet-backed regime.



the rebels. Saudi Arabia, Iran and Kuwait provided financial aid, and China—a long term military ally of Pakistan's—provided arms to the guerrillas as well as sending instructors to Afghan rebel bases at Miranshah and Chitral on the Pakistan border. Whether the CIA was also involved, prior to the Russian intervention, is an open question: they would not need to have been, given the crowded field of other participants.

There is then considerable support for the thesis that the rebellion was sustained from outside and that without this support it would never have posed the threat to the PDPA that prompted Russian intervention. Had the Pakistanis disarmed the refugees and sealed the frontier—the normal procedure for a state in such a situation—then there would not be Russian forces in Afghanistan today.

But the scale of the uprising cannot be attributed solely to the ferocious conservatism of Afghan society, or to the level of foreign support for the rebels. It is also due to the policies pursued by the PDPA in response to this rebellion and to the support that the Russians gave to these policies. In response to rural dissidence, the regime sought mainly military solutions and in the towns resorted increasingly to repression. This encouraged the spread of resistance, and the man who was the most hawkish on these issues was the late Hafizullah Amin. He became the prime minister at the end of March 1979 and from then onwards prosecuted this policy with vigor.

By the autumn the Russians realised that a hard line would not work. They tried to get rid of Amin, but he instead killed their ally, President Taraki. The Russians remained unreconciled to Amin and when they moved a second time, in December, they made no mistake about it. Because Amin was so well entrenched

and had eliminated many of his opponents, the Russians had to bring in forces of their own to ensure their success and install a group of PDPA dissidents—some ousted in 1978 and some associates of Taraki—whom they had been sheltering in the USSR.

The Russians have paid a high price for their intervention. They will have to remain in Afghanistan for quite some time before the regime is firmly enough established, and the cost in lives and money will be considerable. Dictated by reasons of state, it is doubtful if the intervention is at all popular in Russia itself. Relations with the U.S. have been badly strained. The embryonic detente with China has been abruptly halted. The fury of Muslim outrage, until now vented on the U.S. alone, is now being turned on its more natural enemy, the bastion of world atheism in Moscow. These are not considerations that weigh lightly in the Kremlin: the intervention in Afghanistan is neither a reckless venture, nor one from which the Russian leaders will quickly retreat under pressure.

The standard western response is a mixture of fantasy and half-truth. The Russians do have a 'grand design' in the elementary sense that they have had one since 1917: They will take a special interest in the situation on their borders and are committed, within the constraints of world politics and their own resources, to supporting revolutionary regimes abroad. They will do so, where they can, in Vietnam and in Afghanistan and not, where they cannot, in Chile. Their intervention in Afghanistan is not indicative of anything new in this respect. The country was unique in the world in being a non-communist state where the Russians were the main military and economic partners: This arrangement had lasted since 1955 when the Eisenhower

administration cut back aid in order to appease Pakistan and was confirmed in 1961 when Kennedy refused an urgent Afghan request for economic aid. If anyone "lost" Afghanistan to the Russians it was Dwight D. Eisenhower and John F. Kennedy.

To compare the intervention in Afghanistan with that in Hungary or Czechoslovakia is quite tendentious. In the two latter countries, the Russians ousted popular and independent governments under the spurious pretext that there was direct foreign interference. In the Afghan case the Amin regime was universally loathed and already 100 percent dependent on the Russians, and the scale of foreign counter-revolutionary influence was, even if less than the Russians claimed, substantial.

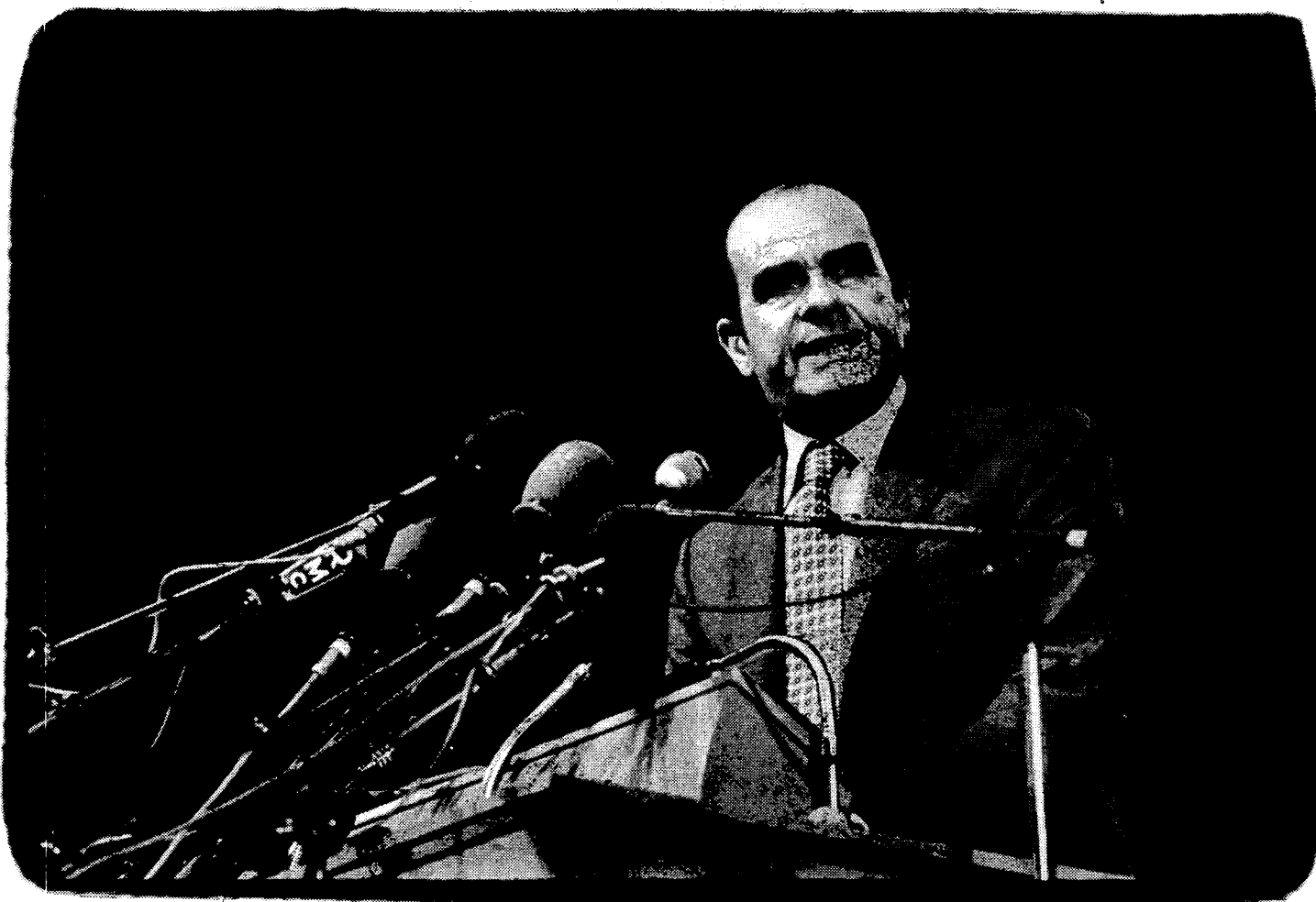
There has been much talk of the Russians advancing on the oil of the Persian Gulf: But the Russians, for all their problems, remain the world's largest oil producers, at a rate of 12.4 million barrels a day. The availability of warm water ports, while obviously desirable, is hardly as serious a goal in the era of intercontinental missiles as it was in the days of Peter the Great.

Henry Kissinger likes to say that even if the Russians did not initiate all that happens in the 'arc of crisis' they are still responsible, because they set the ball rolling. In fact, he, Carter and their cohorts set the ball rolling in every one of these countries: in Afghanistan, where the Shah interfered and provoked the April 1978 left-wing coup; in Ethiopia where the Somalis, incited by Saudi Arabia and the U.S., seized a third of that country's territory prior to the Cuban intervention and in Angola where CIA support for UNITA was used to try and topple the MPLA government.

The demonic picture of Russian policy now current in Washington as a result of the intervention in Afghanistan is therefore an unfounded one. The Russians may have had the misfortune to intervene in Afghanistan in a U.S. election year, but neither the all-informed hysteria this has generated, nor the force of Islamic counter-revolution in Afghanistan itself, appear likely to force them off the course they have chosen.

■ *Fred Halliday is a fellow of the Transnational Institute. A longer analysis of the situation in Afghanistan will appear in issue #119 of the New Left Review.*

EUROPE



French Communist Party leader Georges Marchais.

NATO arms buildup strains left coalitions in France and Italy

THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (PCI) has long viewed detente not only as a necessary condition for its own access to government, but also as an absolute good for Europe and the world which the PCI, with its unique understanding of the psychology of both East and West, has a special duty to encourage.

The PCI position on the stationing of American nuclear missiles in Italy and other NATO countries to counter Soviet SS20 nuclear missiles aimed at Europe was consistent with this attitude towards detente. In the Dec. 4 parliamentary debate, PCI head Enrico Berlinguer proposed that Italy ask NATO to put off the decision to build and install the Pershing 2 and Cruise missiles for six months, and use the time to sound out the Soviet Union on a mutual arms reduction in the European theater. This is more cautious than the Dutch parliament's decision to refuse the missiles for a period of two years, while awaiting results of East-West arms negotiations. The PCI took the NATO, rather than the Soviet, viewpoint in acknowledging that if detente is to continue, attention must be given to restoring a balance of forces in the European theater—while fixing a ceiling at a lower level. The PCI proposal further showed concern for balance by calling on the Soviet Union to suspend manufacture of its SS20 during the six-month moratorium.

“Coming from the largest western communist party, the proposal amounts to a decision of exceptional importance, which dissociates the PCI from flatly pro-Soviet positions...and offers all Italian and European democratic forces a reasonable platform for agreement,” commented the independent left newspaper *La Repubblica*. A group of prominent intellectuals also appealed to the whole left to move together to stop both sides from installing the missiles.

In the Italian Socialist Party (PSI), the older generation was anxious to explore Soviet intentions before deciding. The party's number two leader, Claudio Signorile, suggested agreeing to the American missiles but with a “dissolving clause,” meaning that the decision would be “dissolved” in case of successful arms negotiations with the USSR. The Belgian government took a similar position. But PSI leader Bettino Craxi decided to dissolve the dissolving clause into a mere “wish” and instructed his party to vote for the Christian Democratic government resolution accepting the missiles unconditionally. This quickened the growing rebellion against Craxi in PSI ranks. It appears increasingly difficult for him to lead the PSI into a center-left coalition with the Christian Democrats against the PCI when the PCI is taking positions, as on the Euromissiles, that correspond more closely to the views of most socialists than those of Christian Democrats.

Meanwhile, in Paris, the PCF seemed intent on illustrating Gramsci's description of French political parties as “all mummified and anachronistic, historico-political relics of different phases of past French history, whose worn-out terminology they keep repeating.” France, not belonging to NATO's military structures, did not have to decide on the missile issue. The PCF waited until NATO had decided, on Dec. 12, to order the missiles and then suddenly launched a “peace campaign” against them that

Continued on page 16.

Eurocommunists break ranks over US-USSR confrontations

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

Soviet actions in Afghanistan fail to shake loyalty of French party leaders

FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY leader Georges Marchais started the new year by returning to Moscow—in body and in spirit. The PCF secretary general set out on Jan. 7 for his first visit to the Soviet capital since 1974 at a time when his party, in sharp contrast to the Italian and Spanish communist parties, was echoing Kremlin excuses for the invasion of Afghanistan.

Is Eurocommunism dead? “On the contrary,” Spanish Communist Party (PCE) spokesman Manuel Azcarate replied to that question, “Afghanistan proves more forcefully than ever before the need for Eurocommunism, for western communist parties to maintain complete independence.” Both the PCE and the Italian Communist Party (PCI) clearly condemned the Soviet intervention as a violation of basic principles essential to socialism and peace. Spanish and Italian communists both said that the fact that imperialist powers had acted in similar fashion or that the USSR felt threatened was no excuse. On the other hand, the PCF defended the Soviet invasion in the name of “the right of countries to call for outside help against foreign aggression”—meaning, perhaps, the right of late President Hafizullah Amin to ask the Russians to come in and murder him and his family when he proved incompetent to cope with a tribal rebellion that may or may not have enjoyed CIA backing via Pakistan.

Some French communists began circulating a petition condemning Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in terms taken from official PCI and PCE statements and regretting that the PCF had not done likewise. Increasingly audible dismay at the PCF's rapid plunge into sectarian isolation and what Roger Garaudy called Marchais' “servility” to Moscow is not limited to intellectuals. The leadership of the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) failed to agree on how to react to the Afghan events. Eurocommunist intellectuals like Jean Rony and Jean Elleinstein, who only last summer were optimistic at the PCF's evolution, were in despair. Rony said that Eurocommunism, a reality in Italy and Spain, had never gone deeper than an “incantation” in France. Elleinstein lamented that “the iron curtain of history has been brought down on us by a leadership unable to master events and lacking the courage to face the realities of our times and our country.”

But what was Marchais going to ask in Moscow in return for his renewed allegiance? Some observers recalled that the PCF flirt with Eurocommunism began when at least part of the leadership was seriously tempted by the prospect of a governing coalition with the Socialist Party (PS). According to some formerly inside sources, Moscow said “Go ahead, but don't expect any help from us when American and German capitalism react to a left government in Paris by wrecking the French economy.” Some PCF leaders, notably CGT leader Georges Seguy, then tried to find a Third World solution by seeking special arrangements with African and Arab countries, starting with Algeria. But apparently this effort ran afoul of suspicion of French colonialism, astutely aroused by Soviet—as well as American and Chinese—agents. The PCF leadership concluded that Eurocommunism meant impossible international isolation, and broke the union of the left, loudly blaming the PS.

While accusing the PS of planning to ally with President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, the PCF has actually done so in significant ways. It has refrained from making a fuss about recent presidential scandals and even attacked the newspapers that reported them. It has created such acrimony between socialists and communists that it will be nearly impos-

sible for Francois Mitterrand or anyone else to bring together enough left votes to defeat Giscard. In informal dinner table talk, Giscard said he thought the Russian move into Afghanistan was “not premeditated” but dictated by the internal Afghan situation. The PCF paper *L'humanite* approvingly noted the president's “prudence.” Giscard's caution is widely attributed to embarrassment over parallels with France's African exploits—but double standards rarely inhibit heads of state. The desire not to get dragged into a nuclear catastrophe brought on by superpower rivalry is a constant in French policy-making. Who knows, PCF loyalty to Moscow could be a French life insurance policy at some crucial moment. Alignment with Moscow can give the PCF a precise—if servile—international role the French right has proved willing to use in its own foreign policy.

Giscard and his foreign policy advisors believe the USSR in Afghanistan was not following some eternal thrust toward the Indian Ocean, but rather got drawn into a very nasty situation by the mistakes of its proteges in Kabul and the fear of a contagious Islamic holy war across the borders from its own Moslem populations. The French expect the Russians to pay dearly for this error by getting hopelessly bogged down in endless war against Pashtoun tribesmen, whose whole lifestyle revolves around interminable blood feuds on some of the planet's roughest terrain.

Many people here believe the Russians went into Afghanistan partly to show they weren't “a pitiful helpless giant” after what they interpreted as hostile American gestures (refusal to ratify SALT II, naval movements around the gulf, stationing nuclear missiles in West Germany, carrying on about the brigade in Cuba). The Soviet move is alarming precisely as a paranoid response that in turn incites the U.S. to retaliate, and so on. Thus most Europeans condemn the Afghan invasion but also logically disapprove of Carter's reprisals (cutting grain shipments) as part of the same superpower rivalry that can devastate southern Asia or Europe as Indochina was devastated. Hardly anyone believes American leaders care more tenderly for the remote Afghans than do the Russians, and Carter's moral indignation is perceived as silly and irrelevant. ■

IRAN

Years of brutality harden Iranians against US appeals

By Paul C. Sullivan

AS THE 50 U.S. EMBASSY EMPLOYEES held hostage in Tehran close out their 10th week in captivity, some 10,000 Iranians continue to be held against their will just outside the capital. The story of the Iranian prisoners makes the Americans' plight seem like a child's fantasy. And as Iranians on the street, at family gatherings, in cabs and at factory gates make clear, it's a story that must be understood in the U.S. if the Americans are to be freed in the foreseeable future.

The Iranians are being held in a huge walled compound called Behesht Zahra, about 15 miles outside of Tehran. To the unsuspecting eye of a foreigner, the grounds appear to encompass a large park of private garden. But the reality is somewhat more gruesome. Behesht Zahra is a burying ground for Tehran's martyrs killed in the struggle to overthrow the shah.

The cemetery is laid out in neatly ordered sections of about 2500 graves each. At least three sections have been filled with those slaughtered by the ex-shah's military in Tehran during the year prior to his ouster. Thousands of others lie in cemeteries throughout the country. A stone tablet listing the usual information and the place of death marks each grave.

In one section, the date and place of death recorded on virtually every tombstone is the same—Sept. 3, 1978—“Bloody Friday.” Two-year-old toddlers, barely old enough to walk, 70-year-old grandmothers with little left to lose, young fathers and teenage girls—anyone in the line of fire was a target as tanks and automatic weapons fired on the peaceful demonstration.

A 17-year-old survivor of the blood-bath described what happened. “When the soldiers began shooting, I rolled into a ditch. The old women and children who were in front of the demonstration, thinking that they would not be fired upon, never had a chance. I ran into an alley with those who had been sitting near me. A soldier followed us and opened fire. The man on my left was ripped apart by bullets. Then the boy to my right went down. I’ll never know why I wasn’t killed along with them.”

American press accounts of the death toll ranged from 87 to 212. One day after the massacre, President Carter broke away from the Camp David peace accords summit long enough to telephone the shah, ensuring him of continued U.S. support.

For those at Behesht Zahra today, the screams, the rumble of tanks and the thunder of hundreds of machine guns has been swallowed by an equally thunderous silence. It is a silence broken only by the sound of dust swept across the gravemarkers and the quiet sobs of mourners who arrive in small groups, sharing trays of sweets with others who’ve come to pay their respects.

It’s almost impossible to find an Iranian who did not witness at least one attack by the military against anti-shah forces. Many have pictures of the massacres, showing heads sliced open by machine-gun bullets, bodies crushed by tanks, trails of blood left in the streets.

“It’s easy for Carter to forget the ex-shah’s butchery of his own people,” one Iranian told me. “But we cannot forget. Nor can we forget that it was U.S. imperialism that put this Hitler in power,

After the shah’s troops opened fire on “Bloody Sunday” Jimmy Carter phoned to express his support for the Pahlevi regime

kept him in power, trained and armed his mercenaries, and now still supports him on the basis of so-called humanitarian considerations,” the Iranian said.

Even more difficult to forget are those who must live with the effects of SAVAK torture. One victim, described to me by his doctor, is totally paralyzed; only his eyelids and jaw move under his control. When he refused to disclose any useful information, his torturers cut out his tongue. His only form of communication is blinking his eyes. His internal injuries are so severe that he is not expected to live more than a few weeks.

“It is impossible to describe what it meant to be a political prisoner in the prisons of SAVAK,” explained one Marxist who had been imprisoned for more than six years. “For one thing, there was absolutely no way to think of escape. You never knew when they would come to torture you again. Some comrades were under constant torture for years and years and years,” the former prisoner said.

“The lucky ones were those who managed to keep a needle with them. With a needle, you could commit suicide if the torture became too unbearable. But one comrade’s needle was too short; he was left paralyzed,” the former prisoner said.

Iran’s suffering as a result of the Pahlevi/foreign corporate partnership is far from over. The shah left behind a legacy of economic chaos that would daunt even the most highly organized, powerful government. Even worse, the long years of extreme political repression left the country without experienced political parties or organizations capable of rapidly reorganizing the society and advancing strategies for overcoming its many severe problems. The political chaos that has left this country with no central governing power is thus a direct consequence of U.S. policies that guaranteed the shah would remain unchallenged by organized opposition forces.

“Of course the United States doesn’t seize embassies; it doesn’t need to. It simply goes ahead and seizes the whole country!” exclaimed a friend here recently.

Iranians are understandably cynical about complaints that the embassy seizure is illegal in light of the crimes carried out against them for 25 years by a tyrant restored to power by a CIA-inspired coup d’etat and maintained in power by massive infusions of U.S. arms, military training and unquestioning political support.

The Iranian authorities have put out numerous feelers suggesting some combination of open tribunal for the shah, return of the shah’s assets, and the return of the hostages. But if Carter continues to insist that the only legitimate issue is the return of the U.S. embassy employees, he will indeed find no “peaceful solution” to the current crisis. ■



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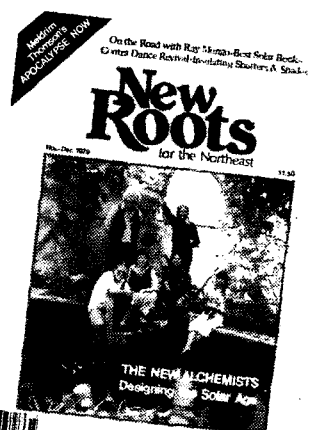
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"Josh" (Joshua Nkomo), "Bobby" (Robert Mugabe), and "Muzo" (Bishop Abel Muzorewa).

Elections in Zimbabwe

The Patriotic Front alliance—already strong in rural areas and gaining support in the towns—expects to win big but fears that the government may try to steal the election.

According to the terms of the London settlement finalized in December, the ceasefire now being implemented in Zimbabwe is the first step toward free elections that could be held as soon as March if the truce holds between Patriotic Front guerrillas and government troops. Our southern Africa correspondent files this report on the mood of the country.

By our Southern
Africa correspondent

SALISBURY, ZIMBABWE

THE BLACK WAITERS AND KITCHEN workers in the Wimpy hamburger restaurant on the First Street mall here are looking forward to the upcoming election eagerly. In the moments between cooking and serving cheeseburgers and Wimpy Specials, they discuss the personalities and programs of the parties with a typically colorful way of referring to political leaders. Bishop Abel Muzorewa, the current prime minister, is "Muzo." Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo, the leaders of the Patriotic Front (PF) guerrilla alliance, are "Josh" and "Bobby." And Ian Smith, the former prime minister, is simply "Chimuti," which in the Shona language spoken in this part of the country means "tree." Smith earned this nickname years ago for his intransigence.

At Wimpy's, the assessment is nearly unanimous. Chimuti and his white supporters are finished as a political force. The contest is between the Bishop and the PF—the other small black parties will get insignificant support. And the Bishop will lose.

Of the men working at Wimpy's, 10 favor the Patriotic Front. The lone Bishop supporter is Ezekial, the head waiter. Richard, another waiter who taught school until he was blacklisted 10 years ago for his political activities, described his colleague. "He earns more than we do. He wears a bow-tie, and thinks he's better than we are. He's very loyal to the white boss—he worked for him at other places, and he followed him here. Naturally he's for Muzo," he said.

What was for so long a race conflict is in the process of becoming a class conflict. Over most of Africa, the decolonization process begun 20 years ago hand-

ed power over to a small black elite, trained in western mission schools and overseas, who proceeded to run their countries in much the same way as their teachers. Further north this group is known as the "Wa-Benzis"—"the tribe of Mercedes-Benz riders."

Though the black elite in Zimbabwe has had to wait much longer to inherit power, they always thought they would eventually win. Now they will support Bishop Muzorewa.

Both here and overseas, a great deal of energy is being expended on predicting the electoral outcome on tribal and regional grounds. In addition to the two major parties, at least five tribal groups have come into existence and analysts are busily hypothesizing various alliances and comparing them with population figures. This exercise is not entirely futile. Tribal ("ethnic" is a more accurate word) loyalties will certainly be a factor, but not, according to the men at Wimpy's, the overriding consideration. The main issues in the Zimbabwe election will be land reform and other substantive economic and social programs.

About 75 percent of Zimbabwe's seven million black people live in the rural areas. Of these, about 3.6 million are wedged into the Tribal Trust Lands (TTLs), which comprise just one-half of the country and which until recently were the only areas in which blacks were allowed to own land. By the government's own admission, this is 2.5 million more people than the TTLs can support. On the other half of the land, about 7,000 white farmers, many owning huge estates, grow profitable cash crops.

Like most urban blacks, the men at Wimpy's still retain many family ties to the TTLs. Despite the war, they try to return home regularly for visits, funerals and other obligations. They report a high level of support for "the boys," as the PF guerrillas are universally known, who their rural relatives see as the only force willing and capable of carrying out needed land reform.

"They come at night," explained the wife of one of the Wimpy cooks, who lives only one-half hour south of Salisbury. "They announce a meeting just outside the village. No one is required to go, but everyone is interested. They say that since they've come to our area the government is no longer collecting school

fees and taxes, that they brought the change. They talk about the land, how it was stolen from us. They say we are fighting to get it back. We give them food, and we send small boys to warn them when the Green Arrows (government soldiers) are around. Most of us will vote for them in the elections," she said.

Not all of the estimated 15,000 guerrillas operating throughout the country are as disciplined or honest. Some of the widely publicized atrocities are probably rigged by government forces or committed by apolitical bandit groups taking advantage of the chaos. But others just as certainly are true. The PF leadership tried to discipline its members, but lines of authority and communication are difficult to maintain in the bush.

BUT THERE ARE NO CLEAN hands in Zimbabwe's war. Government forces have killed thousands, burned fields and granaries (to deny the guerrillas food), and moved half a million people to so-called "protected villages."

Bishop Muzorewa, who is now trying to pass himself off as a man of peace, as recently as three years ago was encouraging young Zimbabweans to go and join "the boys." What are now his government's forces strike deep into Mozambique and Zambia, killing guerrillas and refugees he helped send there.

By contrast, the PF is seen as rather restrained. A middle-aged teacher explained, "Since the war came to my home area last year, I would say 20 of my close family members have been killed, 17 of them by the security forces, the other three by the boys. It may sound harsh to say so, but the local people told me that those three were in fact traitors, that in some sense they deserved what they got."

The PF has been rapidly picking up urban support to go along with its solid position in most of the rural areas. Many of the men at Wimpy's voted for the Bishop in last April's controversial 'internal settlement' election. "There were many reasons," Richard, the waiter, explained.

"We understood the defects in that constitution, but we thought Bishop would be at least some improvement



Ian Smith is out of the picture.



White landowner and black farm laborers line up to vote in Sabi Valley, near the Mozambique border.

over Chimuti. He promised to end the war. He said he would raise salaries.

Some of us even thought he had a secret deal with Robert Mugabe—we would vote for him, and we would get Bobby back here. But he didn't deliver the goods. And he's losing support all the time," he said.

About all the Bishop's government did was remove the last bars to integration of restaurants, hotels and the like, and permit blacks to buy homes in the previously white sections of Salisbury, into which Muzorewa's allies and other top black politicians promptly moved. To the men at Wimpy's, these changes were merely insults. White income remains on the average 10 times higher than black. Workers at Wimpy's earn the equivalent of \$82 per month. Richard calculated with rigorous saving it would still take him at least 100 years to afford even a modest home.

The PF is also helped by the near-universal realization that without its sacrifices no change whatsoever would be taking place. Most of the PF leadership has spent 10 years in detention, and some are still jailed. Muzorewa, although he is judged to have played an honorable and necessary role in the nationalist movement in the early 1970s, has by contrast never spent a day in prison.

The Bishop is counting on "tribalism" and factionalism within the guerrilla alliance, together with the profusion of small, tribal-based parties, to increase his electoral chances. Tribalism is a touchy subject in certain quarters here. Fervent PF supporters attempt to deny that it exists at all, except in the minds of the opportunist politicians who see it as a road to power. But it is undeniably a force. Black people are broadly divided into two language groups: the Ndebele in the west, and the Shona in the east. These two are further divided into subgroups with slightly differing dialects: two Ndebele, and a half-dozen Shona. In the rural areas these differences are of little immediate significance, if only because people rarely encounter anyone from another group. But with the move to the cities, ethnic differences can have a certain cultural and political importance.

Now significant ethnic differences will be in the coming campaign is difficult to gauge. As the PF is easily the most broad-based of the parties, it will probably mean simply that voters will prefer PF candidates from their own groups and areas. Some of the PF activists are prominent in their home regions. Before he was detained Joshua Nkomo worked his operations in the Ndebele area for years, appearing at school graduations

and the like. People remember. For much the same reason, some of the tribal factions may win handfuls of seats, which will be important only if the PF falls shy of an absolute majority.

THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN Nkomo's ZAPU, which is strongest in the Ndebele area, and Mubage's ZANU, based more in Mashonaland, are sometimes erroneously explained only on tribal grounds, and the Bishop's supporters hold up the spectre of a bloody civil war between the two. Ethnicity does explain some of the differences, but there are also substantial political disagreements. A senior ZANU man who is already plotting election strategy inside the country explained: "It is not settled yet, but we expect to fight the election as separate parties, although we will collaborate by speaking from common platforms and in other ways. On paper, there will be little difference between our programs. After the election, even if we in ZANU win an outright majority, which we expect to do, we will form a coalition with Josh, allocating cabinet offices on the basis of the results. There will remain political differences between us and Josh no matter what happens. He believes in a mixed economy and wants to move with land reform and especially nationalization more cautiously than we do. There is nothing socialist about him. At this stage, though, we hope to rule together on a 'radical' program: immediate nationalization of the mines and some of the subsidiaries of multi-national corporations, and the acquiring of under- or un-used white farmland with compensation provided by America, Britain and the EEC. (This has been agreed in London.) We also hope to slowly merge the two parties during this period. Then, in say three to five years, we would return to the electorate with an explicitly socialist program," he said.

"We don't mind a little vote fraud," the ZANU leader added, "because we think it will just reduce our margin of victory. But if they steal the election there will be big trouble," he said.

The transition proposals worked out in London clearly favor Muzorewa and his United African National Council. Why then did the PF agree to them when the war was, albeit slowly, going its way? The answer is that, for now, the five "front-line" states that have hosted and aided the guerrillas have had enough. Tanzania is nearly bankrupted by its war earlier this year with Idi Amin. Mozambique and Zambia have been serious-

ly hurt by Muzorewa military raids into their territory—almost all of landlocked Zambia's road and rail links with the outside world have been cut. Nearly 250,000 Zimbabwean refugees are taxing the resources of neighboring countries. Apparently, the front-line states feel they have helped the PF enough to give it a good chance in an election.

The framework for the current settlement was worked out at the Lusaka Commonwealth conference in August. The PF in London is merely trying to get the best possible deal within that framework.

But if the Bishop blatantly attempts to steal the election, the front-line states could change their minds. And, if South Africa carries out its veiled threat to intervene, the whole arrangement is off. Pretoria's leaders have been muttering ominously about taking action if "chaos" occurs in Zimbabwe. The Soviet ambassador in Zambia promptly answered

these statements with some threats of his own, so perhaps there will be a stand-off that will permit the election to take place. Still, South Africa is poised to send massive funds into the Bishop's campaign war-chest, some say as much as \$12 million.

Even if the election comes off, conflict will not necessarily end. The PF could fall short of the 51 seats it needs for an absolute majority and the other parties, including the whites (who are guaranteed 20 seats), could then hamstring necessary legislation. The temptation for a PF coup, or a right-wing counter- or pre-emptive coup, would be strong. Some PF guerrillas may continue fighting. Whites, who will retain economic power, could refuse to invest and instead smuggle their millions out of the country. As one white observer commented, "Going from Rhodesia to Zimbabwe is like going from Sunday to Sunday. This settlement is Tuesday becoming Wednesday." ■

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Life on the Big Screen

By Pat Aufderheide

The billboards all over Havana said "First New Latin American Film Festival!" And more than 500 of us, from 34 countries, were there with festival badges on to prove it.

Caught between an urge to run out to a beach party, see a movie or to pop into a local factory, we all—groping for common languages between native speakers of Spanish, Portuguese, French, English, Russian, Bulgarian, Polish and Tamil—poured into the same grandiosely decaying hotel.

The Cubans had invited us there to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the Cuban film institute, Instituto Cubano de Arte y Industria Cinematograficos (ICAIC) and to honor the third thriving decade of New Latin American Film, a.k.a. Nuevo Cine. Nuevo Cine refers to films by Latins made with social or political intent. The celebration had a triple purpose—to see films, to make contacts and to set up a marketplace for the films.

The Cubans awarded prizes, "Corals," and the festival jury included Gabriel Garcia Marquez and Regis Debray as well as Latin American filmmakers. The Cubans hope the festival becomes an annual event, with the marketplace (known as MECLA) a permanent feature.

Getting together the people who make Nuevo Cine films was no small feat. In most of Latin America you can get strung up by the thumbs for talking of social change, much less making a movie about it. Much of the last 25 years of work in Nuevo Cine has been done in secret, in exile or in disguise.

Anger and insight.

In the late '60s and early '70s films with social themes from Latin America seemed to many of us a kind of miracle, both technically and politically. They promised anger and insight, a populist recovery of the film medium, especially in an era when many young American leftists sought their heroes in the Third World.

By the late '50s, after an early history of national filmmaking that had ended decisively with Hollywood's conquering of international distribution channels, only two Latin American film industries were still alive. In Mexico and Brazil smudgy caricatures of Hollywood entertainment were churned out for local audiences already jaded by the real thing.

Meanwhile film buffs in Latin America's big cities saw in Italian neo-realism and the French New Wave ways to use film to express their own cultural and national concerns.

With the Cuban revolution, ICAIC was founded and began producing a vigorous series of documentaries. Accompanying production went a program of distribution and exhibition via truck and mule to places where no film—and sometimes no automobile—had ever gone.

Meanwhile Brazilian directors began producing films that tapped Brazilian peasant and African folklore. Glauber Rocha's cockeyed operatic westerns—*Antonio das Mortes* was the wildest—piqued international curiosity.

In Bolivia a film group, UKAMAU, sneaked around government censorship to make films about highland peasants' and miners' battles to survive and then carried projectors and films to villages to show the films.

The end of the '60s, after a meeting of leftist filmmakers at Vina del Mar, Chile, brought a starburst of important films. *Hour of the Furnaces*, a staccato indictment of Argentine politics, was made then, and so was the Chilean drama recounting the true story of a homeless, jobless man who killed the family that took him in—*The Jackal of Nahualtero*. Soon a national Chilean film institute was formed. In Cuba, *Lucia* was made, putting Cuba on the international art circuit map.

New Latin American cinema of that era—always culturally diverse—experimented with different ways to use film to communicate social concerns. Some used verite techniques garnered in documentary work, and also the intercutting of fiction and documentary footage. Some used an operatic style and allegory. Some used statistics and interpolated narration to break the empathic trance of the viewer and to give more information on the problem addressed. Some used humor, parody and irony to comment not only on social problems but the romantic forms of movie entertainment.

And then in the '70s the political curtain came down. Jorge Sanjines of the Ukamau group had to leave Bolivia, and Uruguayan filmmakers went into exile. Already by 1968 a Brazilian coup-within-a-coup had firmly quashed freedom of expression. With Pinochet came the end of the Chilean film institute.

Films went on being made, though, and the political situation in some countries, notably Brazil in the later '70s—loosened up ever so slightly. But international film fest attention had drifted away from the Nuevo Cine and all its vaunted energy and anger.

Reunions.

So the emotional outbursts and embraces in the lobby of the Hotel Nacional between filmmakers and friends had a special meaning. Here were people whose work is often difficult to see in its own country, who work out of contact with colleagues, who lack information because of censorship and who suffer a kind of media brown out.

Mexican filmmaker Berta Navarro explained "We understand that it means something to be Latin American, that as filmmakers we have the responsibility to rescue our culture. But as things are now, I have no idea of what a friend in Colombia, what a comrade in Bolivia or Peru is working on."

ICAIC production head Jorge Fraga

On the Beach

The New Wave of Latin American Film Hits Havana.



A Cuban film crew interviews Coral winner Geraldo Sarno at Jibacoa beach.

said "We have good contact with some Latin American countries—Mexico, Venezuela, Panama. But there are many other countries—Haiti, Ecuador, El Salvador, where it is very difficult to know what is going on. And we have to know, because this movement is just going to keep on growing."

It could be frustrating to try to hold discussions in the frenetic atmosphere in which people ran from film to film, disappearing just as you were about to finish a sentence. U.S. filmmaker Barbara Kopple shared the feeling of several who noted the lack of structured discussion by the audience after films. There were a few formal discussions, including one on international mass communications that included speeches by U.S. communications expert Herbert Schiller and European scholars Michele and Armand Matelart. Out of the scattered discussions of this conference, however, will be coming—if former meetings are any guide—a new starburst of creative filmmaking.

Day after day, for nine days and scores upon scores of films, came the in-the-can proof that Nuevo Cine hadn't disap-

peared with the '60s. Rather, in spite of all the obstacles, a process of maturing is taking place.

Several film industries brought more varied and more sophisticated work than ever before—especially the Brazilian and the Venezuelan. The prevalence of color films was proof of increased technical capacity. The variety of subjects—ranging from terrorism to education to baseball—was proof of healthy diversity, as was the variety of approaches, which ranged from Godardian experimentation to traditional westerns.

Chicano filmmakers, who were honored in a special tribute, demonstrated, as did Panamanian filmmakers, the existence of a creative group with solid filmmaking experience. The first Haitian-made feature, a documentary chronology of Haitian history, was shown.

The long-awaited third part of *The Battle of Chile*, a Cuban-Chilean production begun in 1973, premiered. This concludes the now four-and-a-half hour long epic on the rise and fall of Allende's Chile, with its interviews with union officials, workers and housewives as well as its hard-edged analysis of rightwing

Left to right: Haiti, the Way of Freedom; Puerto Rico; Portrait of Teresa; One Way or Another; The Other Francisco.



sabotage and takeover. The first two parts have received universal international praise. Unfortunately the third part adds little to the strength of the first two and suffers by having a short film's worth of interesting interviews be dragged out to 90 minutes to fit a format.

Inevitably, *The Battle of Chile* wasn't the only disappointment. The film festival's director Pastor Vega asked people to bring whatever films they wanted to. With no prior selection, the festival gave a warts-and-all look at the state of the art. And if some of the films were amateurish, some graceless and some silly, that was not surprising. Take a look at any film school's products for contrast.

No, what was surprising was the vitality of films with social themes, in spite of the power of commercial cinema. Most impressive was the example of Cuba, which showed what you can do if you have your own national studio and grow up in it.

Artistic freedom.

Cuban features demonstrated the degree of artistic leeway possible in ICAIC, at least among its veterans. Tomas Gutierrez Alea's *The Survivors* looks like a macabre hybrid of Bunuel and Harold Lloyd, showing a bourgeois family that shuts the gates of their large estate to the revolution and moves backward in civilization through feudalism to barbarity. Enrique Pinoda's *Aquella Larga Noche* tells the true story of two women in the clandestine movement in 1958. It uses a complicated mix of flashback, documentary-like sequences and a multilevel soundtrack to give a subjective sense of pre-revolutionary leftist work. Humberto Solas' *Cantata de Chile* is a long visual poem celebrating the heroism of the Chilean people.

Documentary work continues to be a major strength of the Cuban film industry. New filmmakers train by making shorts (Cuba has no film school) and every feature is accompanied by an ICAIC newsreel and short documentary.

On the opening night of the festival two very simple, powerful documentary shorts premiered. Both were directed by award-winning Benabe Hernandez, who before the revolution was a bank clerk and has now made dozens of films. Both were interviews with Sandinista guerrilla children. Especially moving was *La Infancia de Marisol*, in which a young woman describes with quiet force why she fought, how poorly armed they were, how she was captured and raped and how she lost her family.

In all the diversity of Cuban film there is still little work by women (as was typical in the festival generally). Four years ago ICAIC took in some 30 new trainees and 28 of them were women. But as yet only one short film, *Lactancia* by Marisol Trujillo, is evidence of that "new wave."

Co-operation.

Producing and distributing Cuban films is only a part of ICAIC's work. Its facilities are rented to filmmakers from other countries for post-production and in some cases donated for solidarity, as in the case of *The Battle of Chile*.

ICAIC filmmakers also share their expertise. Presently a documentary on the Nicaraguan revolution is underway at ICAIC, with Mexican, Nicaraguan and Cuba collaborators.

Much heralded at the festival was the

brand new Nicaraguan Incine, a film institute that lacks, as Fraga says, "everything." Nicaraguans are training at ICAIC and Cubans are also donating equipment. Also present at the festival were representatives from the Angolan national film institute and from Mozambique, whose institute concentrates (like the early Cuban institute did) on documentaries and on expanding the film audience.

Torture and folklore.

The advantage of having a revolution in progress was clear at the festival. Where other films often focussed on horror stories of what must be changed—for instance the moving but depressing Chilean

Continued on page 14.

The View from Hollywood

By Roger L. Simon
and Dyanne Asimow Simon

We are two Hollywood screenwriters who went to Cuba for the festival of New Latin American films, mostly out of curiosity, but also hoping to exchange views with leftwing filmmakers in a context impossible at home.

We carried with us our ambivalence toward working in the 'bowels of the beast,' a familiar mixture of guilt and arrogance. We were wrong on both counts. We had no reason to be arrogant; the Cubans made movies as well as Hollywood. We had no reason to be guilty; Barbra Streisand was one of their favorite actresses. Moreover, when the lights came up on the smoke-filled screening rooms of ICAIC (the Cuban Cinema Institute), you could still tell the directors by their Levi jackets and the writers by the pained expressions on their faces.

The Cuban film industry is any red-blooded American cineaste's fantasy. Fidel himself established it the day after taking power. A group of young filmmakers, educated by the Italian neorealists, put to "establishment" use the passion and power of the cinema of the early '60s.

It's a little mind-boggling for American screenwriters to imagine a cinema in which artistic and social values are given top priority. We didn't see one Cuban producer reading *Variety* in Spanish to check the grosses on the latest Nicaraguan release. In fact, in Cuba the success of a film is measured by its effect on people and their attitudes.

Riding in a taxi on the way to the Museum of the Revolution, we queried our driver as to his favorite movies. "Rumanian action pictures," he said, evoking visions of twelfth-rate Westerns in saturated color. But when asked to specify a particular favorite, without hesitation he chose *Portrait of Teresa*, a social drama about the struggle of Cuban men to accept complete equality in work and sexual relations with women. When we pointed out it was in no way an action picture, he said, "Ah, but it is about my life!"

Ambrosio Fornet, the editor of a Cuban literary magazine, who was the screenwriter (in collaboration with director Pastor Vega) on the film, pointed out that this response is typical. A wife and mother's right to expect her husband to share household chores while she expresses herself not only economically but also artistically has become a hot topic for debate on TV, in periodicals and among community groups in this country with its long history of "machismo."

It is the kind of debate never engendered by our own commercial films, with the possible exception of *China Syndrome*.

What we found refreshing about *Teresa* was that it was in no way polemical. It dealt with realistic contemporary contradictions in a compassionate manner and made no attempt to resolve them according to a specific dogma. Indeed, the end of the film leaves the audience with questions it must answer itself.

While the Cubans would like to make movies about contemporary social issues, they have a peculiar problem. Coming out of the documentary tradition, the Cuban cinema has been director oriented. The director is the star. His or her name appears on the marquee. Screenwriting as a profession does not yet exist.

More writers.

But the truth is some directors cannot write and movies like *Teresa* require advanced literary skills. The novelists, playwrights and journalists selected by the directors to fulfill their visions are often too inexperienced cinematically to craft the necessary scripts. The result has been an excess of historical films in which a recreation of past events is used to cover up for a lack of structure, characterization and interesting point of view.

Fornet is in the forefront of those who would like to rectify this situation. We were bemused to have him pumping us for information about our union, the Writers Guild of America, and about the role of screenwriters in Hollywood. We should have warned him he was opening a Pandora's Box of unproduced scripts (15 thousand last year registered at the WGA), pointless producer's revisions, endless shop talk and egotistical credit battles.

Shaw said we are defined, even created, by our careers and this seems to go for socialist societies as well as for capitalist. Two kinds of screenwriters predominate in Hollywood—those who say they hate writing and are only in it to direct and the literateurs who disdain the rough-and-tumble infighting of the "industry."

Fornet is clearly of this latter type, the kind of retiring. He is the essentially decent man you can find poring over the *New York Review of Books* in one of the

little bookstalls in Westwood.

Jorge Fraga, production director of ICAIC, has the assured authority of someone who could be heading one of our major studios (would that he were). Tomas Gutierrez Alea, the leading Cuban *auteur* director, is the kind of urbane artiste you could just see as the lion of one of our more literate talk shows, like Dick Cavett.

But there is a difference.

And it was that difference that made us a little depressed, more than a little jealous the longer we stayed in Cuba. What a pleasure it would be to work there. Whatever the difficulties, whatever the competition that must arise in an art form requiring such expenditures of money, at least there is an assumed commonality of goals and interests and a commitment to the audience that goes beyond entertainment.

That is not to say all is nirvana in the Cuban film industry. Besides the script problems, we noted a degree of stiffness in the acting style in several of the movies and laxity in some of the editing. Also, Fraga reminded us, they are competing on the international distribution market and that must make them, in part anyway, a commercial cinema.

That is not all bad, of course, because a commercial cinema viewed another way is a popular cinema. If people don't want to pay with their money and time to see a movie, there's a good chance it's either crap or a rarefied "art" film that doesn't communicate.

The dark shadow.

The irony is for all the achievements of Cuban cinema, we remain the touchstone, a dark shadow lurking 90 miles off shore to be both hated and admired. For all the perfidy and destruction perpetrated by the American government on the Cuban people, we are still their close neighbor with a population some 25 times their own and a culture that, while often venal and garish, is finally one of the more vibrant in the world.

Even with blockades, boycotts, foreign policy and military stand-offs, there's no way to stop our influence. It's in the wind blowing south from Miami. A million Russian troops could never equal it.

The thought is in a strange way chastening to a couple of "Cultural Workers" from Lotusland. Out here where the sun shines and you can even buy your way out of the smog with a hilltop house and an air conditioner in your BMW, it's easy to forget what you do has an impact far broader than on your bank account or your ego. All too often what we do seems like fun and games, but in reality we're producing one of America's few remaining successful export commodities—and perhaps even the most potent of them.

The more time we spent in Cuba, the more we realized what we did was in deadly earnest. (American Cultural Imperialism was Topic A for the lectures and discussions conducted most mornings during the festival at ICAIC.) We began to feel more than ever, the responsibility of having our fingers, however lightly, on the trigger of that star-studded laser beam called Hollywood.

Roger L. Simon is the author of *The Big Fix* and other *Moses Wine* detective novels. Dyanne Asimow Simon is a playwright who is writing a screenplay about Emma Goldman.



Continued from page 13.

feature about torture, *The Disappeared*—The Cubans could take as their subjects the construction of a new society. They could even make situation comedies about the exasperations of organizing land reform.

Brazilian films, most of them made with help from national film distribution and funding agency Embrafilme, shared with Cuban films a technical competence. Typically they had a blunter political edge, and often made Brazilian African-influenced folklore their theme.

Nonetheless critical, politically charged statements sneaked in. Geraldo Sarno's fiction feature *Coronel Delmiro Gouveia* (which shared a Coral with a Cuban film *Maluala*) topped a story about a turn-of-the-century entrepreneur with a worker calling for worker control in factories.

How did a film with so bold an ending get approved by Embrafilme? Sarno explained "Embrafilme can't withdraw its support once it has approved the script. This film was made at the tail end of the Geisel era (1975), when the political situation was very much up in the air. No one was looking when it went through."

"Right now is a good time for films in Brazil. Dozens that have been held up by the censor for seven or eight years are being released. But you never know. The door is open now, but it could shut at any time."

Audience reaction.

Nuevo Cine films all must confront not only political obstacles but the problem of making a film that rejects a colonized approach and yet garners an interested audience. For many at the festival, the problem is closely linked to problems of distribution. Dan Talbot of New Yorker Films commented on cross-cultural difficulties of distribution, saying "The U.S. is still xenophobic about foreign films, especially from Latin America."

Better distribution could mean not reaching more people but sharpening a film focus. MECLA offered hope for Latin American filmmakers, Berta Navarro explained. "Setting up a market and reaching socialist distributors is very important. We need distributors who share our interest. Otherwise we don't know who will ever see our films, and who we're talking to. The filmmakers become isolated."

The problem of reaching the audience is one the Cubans are very familiar with. What is a socialist hit?

Cubans are passionate filmgoers. On Sunday nights in Havana you can see lines around the block at the movie houses. In a recent ICAIC survey, 90 percent of the respondents said they preferred fiction to documentary films. Although 99 percent of the respondents said that they go to Cuban features, they don't get a chance to go too often. Only three percent of Cuban screen time is spent on Cuban features. ICAIC can only produce five or six films a year, and Cubans need around 130 films to satisfy the demand.

The pitfalls of pitching to popularity were clear with the new Cuban feature *Maluala*, directed by Sergio Giral (*The Other Francisco*). The film was his attempt to be less didactic, more lyrical and more "transparent" than his earlier work, while still politically engaged. The film focuses on a runaway slave community in the 19th century, and shows the different slave leaders' choices when the government offers a treaty settlement

with the slaves.

The film's historical accuracy is shaky, however, and it depends on cowboys-and-Indians kinds of clichés, transposed into slaves-vs-soldiers. It has yet to show in Cuban theaters, so no one knows if it will be the hit Giral hopes for.

Retrato de Teresa, Cuba's smash hit—it outsold the previous record set by *Jaws* and *The Godfather* by four and five

times and more than half a million tickets in three weeks—also uses a traditional style. But its story is gripping, the narrative is tight and the acting convincing.

The festival revealed that, in Cuba as in Latin America generally, faces new challenges, not only those imposed from without but challenges of growth within this politicized medium. In the wealth of films and discussions that the festival

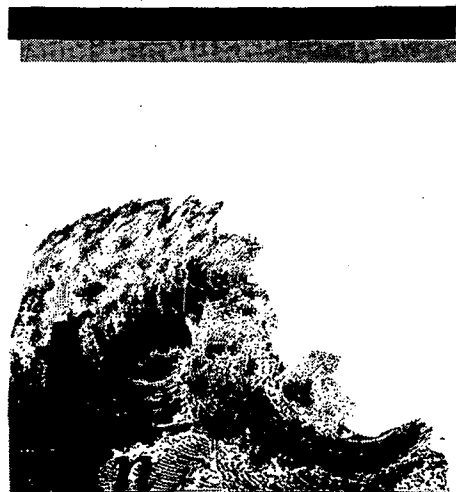
hosted, there were no easy answers.

Surprising? Not at all. The surprise was that you can experiment in socially conscious cinema and survive, that you can make a socialist hit, that you can keep alive the spirit to make movies about your culture when your people are being held hostage by mass murderers, and that a festival of this size could happen.



Filmmakers Julio Garcia Espinosa (center) and Jorge Fraga (right) participate in a symposium.

Roger Simon



Interview with Espinosa

Julio Garcia Espinosa is one of the founders of ICAIC, a filmmaker who at the time of the revolution had made with Tomas Gutierrez Alea and others a neo-realist style documentary on charcoal workers. (The Batista regime banned it and arrested him.) He has made both award-winning documentary and fiction features. His 1967 *The Adventures of Juan Quin Quin* has a quixotic hero and refers ironically to the romance of the western genre. His 1969 essay "For an imperfect cinema," which called for a redefinition of the purpose of cinema in the underdeveloped world, stirred great debate in Cuba and abroad.

Is there a typical Cuban style?

Our earliest and most urgent objective was to inform people about Cuban reality with our films. We tended to use the style of Italian neorealism and we were also influenced by the great Soviet masters.

As we moved into features and fiction it became more difficult to work as we had in the first newsreels and documentaries—with a small group of

people, without a formal script. The documentary form itself also developed. We began making feature films that mixed fiction and documentary aspects, and they became international successes.

What has been the most successful approach?

We have been concerned not to be rigid or selective, but to try as many techniques as we can.

There have traditionally been two attitudes in left cinema, both in themselves dangerous and unproductive. One is to treat the ideological message exclusively, without thinking of how to express it. And there's the opposite, concerned only with the aesthetic expression. Much of Latin American cinema at the moment seems preoccupied with expressing the ideological message without trying to achieve an aesthetic composition of any quality. It's a weak and ineffective solution.

I don't think you can separate the ideology from the form.

We need to make our films come closer to today's reality than they are now. Cuban films have gone through a phase in which the films dealt a great deal with history. Our history had been warped, and we needed to educate people as to what had really happened. Also, our history shares themes with much of Latin America. But now without abandoning those historical themes, I think we have to pick up more current ones. *Portrait of Teresa* is one example. It has a traditional script, but it works.

What has been the influence of Hollywood on Cuban filmmaking?

The influence on our public has been inevitable—and I even think it's a good idea. As a filmmaker you have to confront that challenge. We have to acknowledge the great popular appeal of a kind of film, but also its mechanisms of alienation. We need to make movies that show how those movies work.

For instance, take the myth of Tarzan. You can write a book or an essay

critiquing Tarzan. But it doesn't reach people. But if I could make a movie today, I would make one about Tarzan going back to modern Africa.

In Hollywood they are talking about making such a film.

Well, they ran away with my idea. I've had it for many years. But my idea was not only to show Tarzan in Africa today but to show him confronting the new Africa, to show how hard it is for him to stay Tarzan in that situation. To watch him, effectively, become politicized. Tarzan will finally marry a black woman and they will have children and Tarzan—the myth of Tarzan—is over.

The cinema has much more power to demystify Tarzan than any essay. An essay cannot fight the form itself.

Would you like to experiment with other formulas?

I would like to make a musical, but I can't. I lack the resources—the women who all look alike, who know how to dance together in perfect time, who all have perfect legs and so on. So I would like to analyze why it isn't possible—after all, we have excellent music.

We are working now on the cabaret shows. There are a lot of them, and people like them, but we haven't taken advantage of that form. Artists don't think of shows as an artistic medium yet. You can see the results at the Tropicana night club, where we demonstrate our desire to be what we are not.

Have audience expectations changed over time in Cuba?

I think the Cuban people have changed their ideas of what cinema is dramatically since before the revolution.

But though they are beginning to like new things, they don't abandon the old. That's why it's important for the Cuban, the Latin American, the left cinema all over the world to have a constantly greater presence on the Cuban screens.

—Dyanne Asimow Simon
Roger L. Simon
Pat Aufderheide

Left to right: Coral winning animated film, *In The Jungle There Is Lots to Do*; *The Teacher (El Brigadista)*; *The Last Supper*.



LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the authors and not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

TOO ANTI-SOVIET

THE REPLY BY SAUL LANDAU AND Philip Brenner to Radosh's concept of the "good old days when the Cuba was not a Soviet satellite," contains another of the usual anti-Soviet smears, but from a different side of the balcony (or should we say, box seats?)

I read Spanish; I read *Granma*, the Cuban daily. I listened carefully to Castro at the UN; I've spoken to Cubans on my three trips there. At all times, Castro and the Cuban press acknowledges fully and gratefully its debt to the Soviet Union. Such a fact sticks in the throat of the professional anti-Sovieters, and it is totally irrational to deny that Cuba's very existence was preserved and is maintained by the Soviet Union. Cuba's schools, hospital care, day care centers, women's groups are clearly modeled on Soviet patterns.

Its art, true, is free, as is its maintenance of relations with some African countries with whom the Soviet Union is not deeply involved. After all, however, half of Cuba's population is black, and it has a closer affinity to those African states. As for Radosh, it seems to me that he is in his way as maniacal about Cuba and the Soviet Union as is the *New York Times* and all the other publications that refuse, even, to recognize the achievements of the Soviet Union, and of its aid, for example, in bringing the imperialists in Vietnam to their knees.

—Leon Baya
—New York City

BROADENING

IHAVE FOUND *ITT*'S NONDOGMATIC and creative journalism very encouraging. In reference to the editorial policy statements about devoting newsprint to the Pope as opposed to the CP, however, something is still wrong.

The worst need is to bring people on the left together. The sectarian groups do appear messianic and isolated. Nevertheless, there are many dedicated and experienced folks among small radical parties whom we ought to bring into the dialogue. We can all benefit from discussion of the mistakes and successes of the past (whether from the CP, the New Left, the Social Democrats, etc.).

ITT's coverage is refreshing compared to any other left weekly, but there's an imbalance created by such frequent presentation of the viewpoints of (for example) DSOC writers. I was particularly unimpressed by what Radosh or Lieber had to contribute. There are numerous sectarian socialists whose analysis is more incisive, even though readers must be wary of lapses into rhetoric or narrow partisanship.

Revitalization of the American left must come from a broadening of our associations and not all of them with Kennedy apologists and reformists.

—David Kirsh
—Tucson, Ariz.

WHAT YOU MEAN "WE," BOSSMAN?

SOME NEWS WRITERS ARE SAYING "we" have an Iran crisis. Well, the biggest crisis most of us have is getting a decent job.

If Carter is really worried about the

hostages' lives, he would let Panama send back the shah.

If Carter worried about "national honor," he would stop paying our tax money to the C.I.A. and the Pentagon. The whole world hates them.

If Carter wants "national security," he can guarantee job security. He could nationalize Chrysler for starters.

If Carter worries about our liberties, he can get the F.B.I. away from our mail and off our phones.

If Carter is afraid of an energy crisis, he can nationalize oil and build trains.

It beats getting killed in Iran.

—Blaine Coleman
—Williamsburg, VA

TOOLS?

THE BROADCAST OF INTERVIEWS from the U.S. embassy in Tehran has brought a welter of criticism down on the TV networks for allowing themselves to be used as a propaganda tool. This calls to mind my chagrin upon coming to the U.S. a year ago and finding that the news here virtually never allows the parties to a conflict to state their positions first hand. Walter Cronkite might tell us that a union is striking for such and such a reason. On the BBC and most other European media we would see a spokesman from the union and another from the industry present their respective cases. This is not considered to be opening up the airwaves to propaganda, but the minimum essential of objective reporting.

Americans are inured to having all their information squeezed through the wringer of three or four very limited news sources, which is why they writhe in agony when something else leaks though and actually begins to touch the issues.

The Iranian students or government not been given any forum to present their case. We are presented the position of the protagonists only second hand, the way that the news bureau and commentators see it. Such frustration at not being heard is what leads to terrorist kidnappings, the first demand of which is inevitably "print our statement!"

—Adam Cadmon
—Oakland, Calif.

IRA

LET ME SECOND PATRICK ALLITT'S plea for more balanced coverage in *ITT* on the issue of Northern Ireland (*ITT*, Nov. 7). The situation there is indeed a good bit more complex than "Brits Out!" slogans and Dennis O'Hearn's coverage would have us believe.

What of the substantial Catholic sentiment for the continued presence of British troops to ward off Protestant paramilitary attacks (which a recent poll put at close to 50 percent)? What of recent gains by the moderate Alliance Party, consisting of both Protestants and Catholics and advancing a liberal/social democratic program? Since when is the indiscriminate murder of innocent personages by bomb worthy of being hailed in the pages of *ITT*?

If I wish to read an IRA house organ I'll buy the *Republican* at my local newsstand.

—Patrick Laceyfield
—New York, NY

SHAKE PAL

ASISTER'S HANDSHAKE TO DR. KEN- nedy Oldfield of Mays, Kans. (*ITT*, Oct. 24) for his comments on which direction Dylan's ass faces. I myself found the old Dylan also fundamentally sexist in the neat way that the hip folk have been sexist. I would like to suggest that a study of his lyrics and style would make a good exercise in criticism-self-criticism by some of the men's groups now modish in certain circles.

I don't know the new mystical Dylan to whom Oldfield refers. But I can guess. Again, of course, the religious zeitgeist of our time (with the exception of feminist spirituality) is a deeply male-chauvinist and also necrophilic phenomenon. What I'm wont to say is that while Dylan may not be "Genuine" in one sense, he's the real article in another—a prime condition cultural artifact.

—Miriam Wolf
—Minneapolis

A RARE GEM

SOME PEOPLE COLLECT ART, HORSES, stamps, nations, baseball cards. I collect "art reviews," which I compile in scrapbooks for the delight of myself and others.

Your recent review by Joel Schechter (*ITT*, Dec. 5, 1979) is an inane attempt to justify the mindless and infantile work of Joseph Beuys.

The review rates "tops" in absurdities for 1979. Give us more. They are very funny and God knows we need more laughter as we enter our mid-Roman era.

—Paul Fenstermacher
—Germantown, Penna.

IRAN

OF COURSE THE AMERICAN GOVERN- ment cannot hand the ex-Shah over to the Iranians. But it is nice that they should ask.

Their request is just that. His crimes were immense. Numerous political executions and widespread use of torture have been widely documented and reported in the American media. Equally well known, however, is the fact that the CIA played a crucial role in the coup of August 1953 that assured him unlimited powers. Also, that the Americans helped him build up and train his dreaded secret police, the SAVAK, which became almost universally hated in Iran.

American complicity with the Shah makes it impossible now to abandon him to the Iranians regardless of whether he would face a fair or an unfair trial. It is a cornerstone of American foreign policy to bolster tyrannical regimes in order to protect American business interests. They doom the bulk of their peoples to deepening privation and suffering, and can remain in power only by relying on armed force, torture and other kinds of police terror.

Henry Kissinger insisted all along that the deposed Shah be welcomed to a dignified retirement in the U.S., along with Anastasio Somoza and other friends of American business interests. The morale of tyrants around the world must be bolstered. Moreover, when popular movements come to power in Third World countries, as in Chile and Nicaragua, there must be colonels or generals to stage military coups to "nip socialism in the bud." These people must be assured that the U.S. will stand by them.

I hope the American hostages will soon be freed. The taking of diplomats as hostages is an unprecedented violation of international law. But is it worse than U.S. sponsorship and support of terror-regimes in Iran and elsewhere? Does it occur to President Carter or his advisors that the righteous indignation in Tehran might be as justified as their own?

A constructive beginning of a process to free the hostages would be for President Carter to acknowledge

American complicity in the Shah's alleged crimes in Iran, and to declare his willingness to cooperate with a U.N. sponsored tribunal to investigate these matters impartially and on condition that the hostages be freed as soon as such an agreement can be signed.

I doubt that President Carter, for all his concern for human rights across the world, will attempt such a conciliatory course toward the Ayatollah's regime. Much like Khomeini, though for different reasons Carter has too much to gain politically from a posture of toughness, and too much to lose by a show of reasonableness. Paradoxically, it is "safer" politics to keep issuing implied threats of drastic, even military, action, even at the obvious price of increasing the belligerency in Tehran.

Some day, when the hostages have been returned unharmed, I hope a climate of reason will return to these shores, with a critical discussion of why anti-American feelings ran so high in Iran. Could it be that a serious attention to human rights abroad should be called for, as a guiding principle in U.S. foreign policy?

—Christian Bay
—Toronto

HIGH BROW

DIANA JOHNSTONE'S EMOTIONAL outburst about the U.S. embassy takeover in Iran (*ITT*, Nov. 21) took her "out of the world" of principled anti-imperialist solidarity. The gross distortions, high-brow vocabulary (what, pray tell, is "economic autarky"?), and emotionalism filling her article do nothing to aid our understanding of a complex situation in which the U.S. government has played a major role.

By providing every type of political, military and moral support for the Shah's incredibly brutal, iron-clad police state, the U.S. effectively prevented the emergence of any except radical right-wing religious leadership of the Iranian revolution. Kissinger, Rockefeller, Carter, and company knew that the Shah's presence here would provoke a strong mass reaction in Iran. Given the high level of anti-imperialist popular consciousness there, seizure of the embassy and its staff was inevitable—with or without Khomeini.

Just what is so "outrageous" about demanding the Shah's extradition to Iran? He is, after all, one of the most notorious torturers and mass murderers in the world today. Even if he was on his "deathbed," which his doctors have indicated he is not, this murderer should be held responsible for his crimes. No sentence could be too harsh for such a vicious criminal.

Iran's internal problems—including the aberrations of its government—can only be solved by the Iranian people themselves. Johnstone should concentrate her outbursts against U.S. manipulation and threatened intervention, instead of attacking Iran's moves to free itself from imperialist political and economic domination.

—Elissa Jannes
—Madison, Wis.

CALENDAR

Marxism and the Metropolis—seminar offered on 4 Thursday evenings beginning Jan. 24, 8-9:30. Sponsored by DSOC, Washington DC local, 6th floor conference room, 1346 Connecticut Ave., just south of Dupont Circle. Nominal fee. For details, call 296-7693.

Long-time anti-war activist, Igal Roodenko, will be on a speaking tour of the Southeast February through May. Topics on which Igal speaks include: Gandhian Nonviolence, Strategies for the Anti-Nuclear Movement, Pacifism and Non-violence, Peace in the Middle East, and The War Resisters League: 56 Years of Nonviolent Action. For information on how to arrange a visit by Igal to your community, write WRL, 604 W. Chapel Hill St., Durham, N.C. 27701.

DIALOG

New Outlook supports a Palestinian state

By David Shaham

DAVID MANDEL'S LETTER CONCERNING THE NEW OUTLOOK Washington Symposium (ITT, Dec. 18, 1979) is a curious, appalling, and sad web of falsifications and misinformation. It is sad because Mandel, a former *New Outlook* assistant editor and member of our editorial council, should know better. Mandel wrongly attributes to *New Outlook* "public statements that the Symposium would be held on the basis of the Camp David accords." Quite the contrary; the only platform of the Symposium was that Israelis and Palestinians should recognize their mutual right to self-determination. All participants were free to express their opinions, including rejection of the Camp David accords. Though Mandel did not attend the Symposium, he must surely be aware of the criticisms of some participants, including Irving Howe, who felt that: "There was a frequent down-playing of Camp David: by the Palestinians, for obvious reasons; by *New Outlook* people, because it didn't solve the Palestinian problem." *New Outlook's* position vis-a-vis Camp David is that while it should be supported as an important step, it is incomplete without Palestinian participation in the peace process.

Mandel misrepresents the Yariv formula (which he also mentions as a basis for Israeli participation at the Symposium), stating that it "demands Palestinian recognition of Israel and cessation of military activities as a prerequisite to negotiation." While some Israelis so interpret the formula, it has been rejected by all Israeli governments because it spells out the terms for Israeli recognition of the PLO, and is calculated to end Israeli rejectionism on the issue of negotiations with the PLO and the creation of a Palestinian state.

New Outlook has always looked bey-

yond the Yariv formula. General Yariv (*New Outlook*, Dec. 1979) and even Peace Now are prepared for a more advanced formula than the present one, which is still regarded in Israel as the "great divide" between those who would accept a solution of the Palestinian problem based on mutual recognition and those who would not. I believe that Mandel also would agree that a solution to the conflict includes not only Israeli recognition of Palestinian national rights, but also Palestinian recognition of Israel and an end to the hostilities.

Mandel charges that the "Washington locale was also suspect, since this meant that the PLO leaders would not be allowed to attend." The U.S. was chosen, with the support of many Palestinians, because of the important educational role we could, and did, play there. Mandel is completely wrong on the issue of Dr. Issam Sartawi's invitation to the Symposium, citing a "State Department spokesman" who "denied that a visa had been requested," but failing to mention that the same person retracted the statement under pressure, and admitted that the U.S. had denied permission to PLO leaders, including Dr. Sartawi, to enter the U.S.

I concur with Mandel's taking exception to a remark attributed to Norman Levine that Rakah (the Soviet oriented Israel Communist Party) "calls for the abolition of the State of Israel." Mandel correctly states that Rakah "battles against such a position," but why does he charge that Rakah was excluded from the Symposium with all "those who do not accept Camp David?"

New Outlook invited individuals, not political parties, and individuals associated with Rakah declined our invitation, I presume in order not to spoil the Palestinian rejectionists' and their supporters' argument that participation in the Symposium is equivalent to an endorsement

of Camp David. In any event, this argument failed to prevent Palestinian participation, which was fruitful and cooperative.

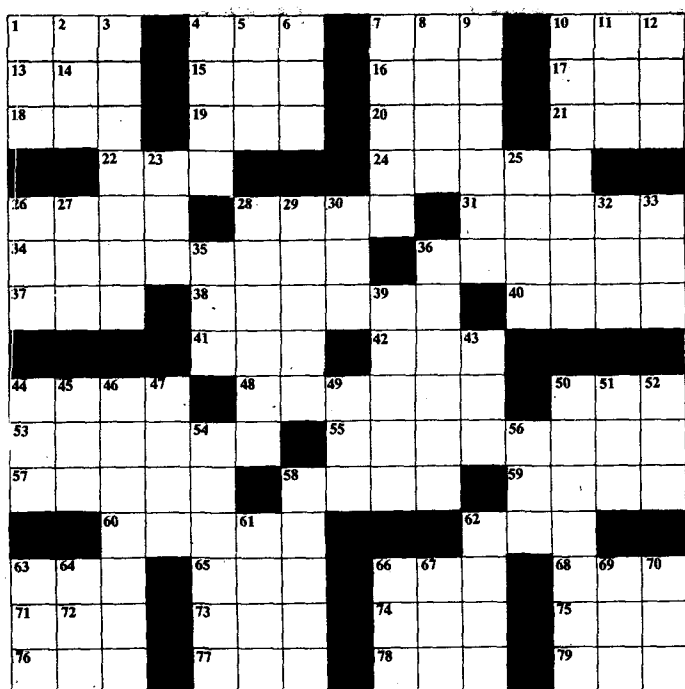
There is a basic flaw in Mandel's approach, besides the many falsifications and misrepresentations, and I doubt it is the product of mere carelessness or of hostile intentions. Mandel derides *New Outlook's* "goal, still naive today, of bringing together Israeli establishment doves from the Labor Party and Palestinians, including several of the pro-American moderates from the PLO ranks," and charges that "*New Outlook* and the Peace Now movement's stand do not clearly favor creation of a Palestinian state and talks with the PLO."

This is, at least, a misrepresentation of *New Outlook's* editorial position, which often supports the creation of a Palestinian state alongside Israel (though this stance is not binding on our members, contributors, or participants in our symposia). *New Outlook* is an intellectual magazine that encourages the broad spectrum of the peace movement in Israel. It is pathetic that Mandel believes that at the Rome Conference on Palestinian Rights, "The Israeli delegation was broader than the one in Washington ended up being: Not only Sheli, but also Rakah and independent Israelis attended."

The Washington Symposium included not only Sheli, but also people from the Labor Party, Mapam, Peace Now, Independent Liberals, Shai, Citizens' Rights, as well as many Israeli independents. Though Mandel considers it naive to attempt to bring all these elements together (and there is a certain price to be paid if the attempt is to prove successful), he should be aware that an Israeli-Palestinian peace will not be concluded between the PLO and Rakah, but between the PLO and the Israeli establishment as represented by the aforementioned elements. To this end we dedicate all our efforts, naive or otherwise.

TICKETS

By David Mermelstein



ACROSS

- 1 Old boat
- 4 Dennis or Doris
- 7 Grill's companion
- 10 Part of Plath title
- 13 Udall, to friends
- 15 Horation or Pindaric
- 16 Hail!
- 17 Norwegian coin
- 18 Possess
- 19 Tennis call
- 20 Party of 4 Down: Abbr.
- 21 Kept secret
- 22 R. Carter, _____ Smith
- 24 Part of an '80 ticket?
- 26 Frost, e.g.
- 28 Sigh of sorrow
- 31 Pete and Billy
- 34 On Amer. Party ticket, with Schmitz
- 36 Golf unit
- 37 Fr. marshall, executed for treason
- 38 Help
- 40 Type of bend
- 41 Part of McLean title
- 42 "_____ the season..."

DOWN

- 44 Family member
- 48 Author of *The Comedians*
- 50 Sault-_____-Marie
- 53 Part of an '80 ticket?
- 55 Part of an ephemeral '72 ticket
- 57 Having auditory organs
- 58 Building extensions
- 59 Biological unit
- 60 Retains
- 62 See 20 Across
- 63 Retired boxer
- 65 Holiday offensive
- 66 Part of a bathing suit
- 68 Possessed
- 71 Number on lacrosse team
- 73 Golfing area
- 74 Found in Alaska, the North Sea and the Persian Gulf
- 75 Before
- 76 Foodstuff high in cholesterol
- 77 Traveling abbreviation
- 78 Precedes beauty?
- 79 Wave or Left

Lating trio

- 2 Spat
- 3 '68, '72, '76—no; but '80?
- 4 On '76 ticket
- 5 Drink suffix
- 6 But
- 7 Swollen equine protuberances
- 8 Assert
- 9 Kind of card
- 10 Ran with Lincoln or Kennedy
- 11 Onassis, to friends

Political Geography

By David Mermelstein



Missiles

Continued from page 8.

sounded like 30 years ago. On Dec. 20, it was nostalgia time as the PCF marched 10,000 strong with peace doves, appropriately led by aged surrealist poet Louis Aragon, alongside Georges Marchais.

"Carter, Schmidt, Giscard, want to blow up the planet, we must mobilize to stop them," went one slogan. There was no hint that the Soviet Union had any weapons more formidable than peashooters.

Before putting on this retro show, PCF leaders had interrupted their stream of invective against Francois Mitterrand and other Socialist Party (PS) leaders long enough to summon them to an anti-missile meeting only hours before it was scheduled, then crowed over their "lack of unity" when they naturally failed to turn up.

Such a frivolously stereotyped approach to grave issues of war and peace seems to reflect the PCF leadership's single-minded determination to defeat Mitterrand in the 1981 presidential elections. Some feel that Marchais hopes to outdistance Mitterrand in the first round, thus ensuring a right-wing landslide in the second round, but establishing the PCF as the main opposition party that the triumphant (and perhaps grateful) right has to deal with. The more fragile PS owes much of its success in the 1970s to the prospect, promoted by Mitterrand, of victory through left union. The PCF currently seems determined to render that prospect incredible by its relentless cuss- edness and socialist-baiting.

In recent months, Marchais seems to be digging Mitterrand's grave big enough for the entire left. In mid-December, a hundred Communist, Socialist and independent intellectuals published a petition pleading with the left to get back together and warning against "the risks of authoritarianism," with any abrupt shift in political relationships. Within a fortnight, the "petition of the hundred" had become "the petition of the thousand" as signatures were added, and discreet efforts were underway to transform the petition into a movement by forming

"left unity committees" at the grassroots. "The patience of the most optimistic is running out," the petition declared. "Discouragement is spreading."

This is certainly no exaggeration. At a PS-sponsored colloquium in Paris last November, a gloomy Regis Debray attributed Nicos Poulantzas's recent suicide to the fact that intellectuals no longer have any political role to play.

Organized labor is also in the doldrums. CFDT labor confederation head Edmond Maire has warned that the left has "had it" if it doesn't shape up.

Historian Jean Elleinstein, who had muted his criticism after the PCF Congress last spring convinced him that marchais was basically on the right track, is back at it, harder than ever. Just before Christmas, the champion of Eurocommunist liberalization went on television to criticize the PCF's "crude anti-socialism" and said that, unless things change, he would not sign a call for Marchais's candidacy in 1981.

The horrible example of PCF sectarianism illustrates why most Italian Communists agree that the PCI must keep trying to get into the government. Even some of those most critical of Berlinguer's compromises argue that if such a party falls back to an opposition role, far from becoming more daring and revolutionary, it will only revert to marginality, to the ghetto, and thus to a sort of static irresponsibility.

At a year-end demonstration in Bologna "for disarmament, peace and cooperation, and for reducing hunger in the world," PCI spokesman Paolo Bufalini again stressed the connection between "strategic-military balance" and detente. He also emphasized that Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan "cannot be justified" since it is an "inadmissible violation of the principles of sovereignty, independence and non-interference." So far, the PCF has refrained from criticizing recent Soviet policy in Afghanistan or anywhere else. It would be mistaken to conclude that the PCI is less principled, more concerned with its electoral image. The PCI has a very particular sense of its international responsibilities and is obviously trying to get the message through to Moscow that Soviet actions are dangerously shifting the European political climate against detente.

BOOKS

A doctor defrocks our secular priests

GETTING DOCTORED

By Martin Shapiro, M.D.
Between the Lines Press (Ontario), 1979,
paper \$6.95, cloth \$14.95.

By Jennifer Brundage

The subtitle of *Getting Doctored* is "Critical Reflections on Becoming a Physician." The progress of the pilgrim from undergraduate to M.D. is described in a style that draws from Marx, Illich and Freud, and from an essentially humane and considerate regard for human dignity. Since the book arrives when the shortcomings of the health care system in the U.S. are under public scrutiny, its message enables to see clearly the overall dimensions of the problems involved.

Author Martin Shapiro entered the medical school at McGill at the height of student activism in 1969. As a deeply political person, he immediately found himself at odds with his professional environment. He is still at odds with it. Shapiro has "doctored" in both Canada and the U.S. and he suggests that the systems in the two countries are similar. The profession is a highly structured obstacle race, designed to preserve the hierarchy of privilege and to thwart attempts at reform. From undergraduate struggles to "get A's" to the final receipt of the precious M.D., the fledgling physician inhabits a world dedicated to the inculcation of highly questionable values.

Once the medical degree is obtained,

however, the struggle intensifies. The young doctor must strive to attract the attention and approval of frequently boorish and contemptuous superiors and, most importantly, make lots of money. In addition to the punishing hours served in the hospital, moonlighting among resident physicians is not uncommon. In some cases, these physicians are engaged in community health clinics or other alternative forms of health care provision. Many, however, are simply trying to find the shortest possible distance between a doctor and a Mercedes Benz. It might appear that entrusting one's health to an exhausted and overextended physician is an act of faith of startling magnitude. It is more disturbing to realize that the care delivered to many of the poor comes from hospital emergency and outpatient clinics, staffed in the main by these self-same physicians.

Physicians regard themselves and are regarded by the public as secular gods. This perception is reinforced by the efforts of professional organizations like the American Medical Association and the socialization process to which medical students are subject. Recent letters to the *Los Angeles Times* on the subject of health care for the poor made the point that doctors are businessmen, like any other, and should not be required to deliver their expertise for less than it is worth. Another letter indicated that the poor had no right to complain about the health care they received, as they were

unworthy of the service of the best physicians because they could not fulfill their obligation to pay the bills.

This is not the first time that poverty has been depicted as a moral defect. But the ethical position extends further. The analogy is that being sick is morally identical to having a car in need of repair. If one cannot afford the more expensive mechanics, one either does the work oneself or goes to the mechanic one can afford. The consequences of going to a second rate auto mechanic, however, are nowhere equal to the consequences of going to a bad doctor. The untenability of the free market ethic to the health care industry is thus apparent.

The mystique of the medical gods draws its fullness from the actual practice of medicine. In the chapter on alienation, Shapiro presents us with a dismal picture of the conditions under which people are "cured." One loses identity and becomes, if lucky enough to have a sophisticated illness, an "interesting teaching material" or the subject-once-removed of an article in a journal. A physician does not become celebrated by discovering some means of limiting the effects of a commonplace disease. Laurels accumulate to those how undertake "daring" efforts to arrest a disease that afflicts a minute percentage of the population, preferably those wealthy enough to pay for the hero's bizarre and often useless experiments. Consider the grovelling and romantic excesses that greeted the

Christian Barnard heart transplant. Almost no one remembers the patient's name. The enormity of the surgery and the pathetically low success rate (an average of six months of painful survival is success in this case) render the entire procedure morally unsound on numerous grounds.

But Barnard's physical glamour, his playboy habits and the gorgeous hospital in which he practiced camouflaged the state in which the black population of South Africa finds itself regarding medical assistance. How much difference is there between South Africa and the U.S.? Ominously similar conditions pertain in Los Angeles. Blacks and Chicanos living in South Central and East L.A. are dreadfully underprovided, while a few miles away in Beverly Hills, physicians sprout like mushrooms in a damp cellar.

The situation could be worse. We might not have had Martin Shapiro to tell us, in a humane, witty and thoroughly readable style, what the overall problem looks like. Once we recognize the seriousness of the ethical and social problems within the profession, and by extension, the society that produced it, we are able to see our way towards providing solutions. The ethical position of Shapiro's book is as inevitable as a sunrise, and its clarity is highly commendable. If you are at all interested in the state of medical care, read this book.

Jennifer Brundage is a graduate history student at UCLA.

BOOKS

Heilbroner provides insights, not explanation

BEYOND BOOM AND CRASH

By Robert L. Heilbroner,
W.W. Norton and Co., \$6.95.

By Lynn Turgeon

Like many economists, both Marxist and non-Marxist, Robert Heilbroner sees 1973 as a major turning point, marking the end of the comparatively steady and sustained growth of the advanced capitalist system during the '50s and '60s. The era of welfare capitalism that began in 1930 has ended in a stagflation crisis that is ushering in an era of planning, without which full-scale resumption of the longest boom in capitalist history will be impossible. In Heilbroner's own words:

I think it is likely that deep changes will be required to restore sustained, if more modest, growth to the system. To come directly to the point, I believe they will take the completion of an institutional shift that is already begun, although like all such shifts, much misunderstood and resisted. The shift is to economic planning, the only institutional transformation that can, in my opinion, give new measure of life, albeit a limited one, to the capitalist system.

Heilbroner's analyses and conclusions are thus similar to those of Walter W. Rostow, who likewise has recently given up on post-Keynesian economic policy-making and is willing to resort to government planning of energy investment to "get us from here to there." And, like Rostow, Heilbroner is sympathetic to the explanatory powers of Kondratieff long waves that his young Marxist colleague, David Gordon, has helped resurrect. Gordon's suggestion that we search for important institutional shifts at critical points in the history of capitalism—whether it be marked by stock market boom or crash in 1980—strikes him as "very sensible."

In reaching his pessimistic conclusions with respect to post-Keynesian economic policy, Heilbroner is surprisingly conventional—and unenlightening. While his notes and comments—some of which are the most interesting part of this long, beautifully written essay that originally appeared in the *New Yorker* claim that he has not given central place to the monetary explanations of Milton Friedman, it still seems clear that "money matters" in the Heilbroner paradigm. Like Friedman, the author blames the Federal Reserve Board and its obsession with inflation for the persistent failure of the economy to resume its forward momentum after 1929. Despite his lucid explanation of Marx's great accumulation "circuit" and its third phase, there is little evidence of any recognition that free market conditions in both product and labor markets during the 1920s had produced a huge realization problem well before the stock market crash. And how does one account for the fact that the Great Depression struck even harder in other advanced capitalist economies that had no Fed?

Increases in the nominal money supply are also considered to be an important ingredient of domestic inflation, and the accumulation of Eurodollars by the multinational corporations and U.S. IOU's by Western European governments are responsible for their "imported inflation." Yet if one looks at the increase in the real money supply following the treasury accord of 1951, and compares it with the growth in real GNP, one might come to the conclusion that contemporary secular inflation is caused by too little money in the system. And presumably, if the Western European countries and Japan were less protectionist, they might have easily utilized these Eurodollars to import the United States products required to increase their domestic supplies and reduce their domestic inflation programs.

Heilbroner claims that the immediate cause of the 1973-74 "revulsion" was

the sudden increase in the price of OPEC oil. But, as he points out, Norway—which should have benefitted from its oil exports at higher prices—also experienced a recession, and eventually a devaluation of its currency relative to the dollar. And why should a worsening of the U.S. terms of trade with respect to OPEC have produced the great recession of 1974-75, while a similar worsening of our terms of trade at the time of the partial devaluation of the dollar in 1971 produced a sudden prosperity that assured the reelection of Richard Nixon?

In this reviewer's opinion, the basic problem of post-Keynesian policy-makers has been their inability to distinguish between demand-pull and cost-push inflation, and the diametrically opposite prescriptions for each. The OPEC price hike was similar to a huge excise tax increase coming from abroad, and it is an example of pure cost-push inflation that must be offset by domestic stimulation, either by reduced taxes of increased government spending. Instead, we find President Ford calling a summit conference of economists in September 1974, the chief purpose of which was to sell the public on the necessity to raise taxes and "Whip Inflation Now"—to curb what was assumed to be demand-pull inflation.

Thus, we had to wait until early 1975 before a Congressionally-inspired tax cut could turn the economy around with the correct medication, some 15 months after the OPEC shock." In other words, it is difficult to go along with Heilbroner's conclusion that the administration in 1974 "knew very well what it was doing."

Heilbroner finds the root cause of the inflationary phenomenon of in the increased role of the government sector, particularly the highly inflation-breeding demands of the military sector. Yet it is precisely during the six years of the Nixon administration when real defense expenditures were declining that the inflation of the '70s was heating up. While mili-

tary spending throughout the postwar years has undoubtedly prevented serious deflation, it hardly seems to be the chief culprit accounting for what has been happening to prices in the '70s.

There is also no evidence of Heilbroner's ability to distinguish between active and passive deficit-financing, let alone the basically non-inflationary nature of the latter. He claims instead that political pressure builds to spend high and tax low, with the result that in 1978 the federal deficit would probably top \$60 billion. But aren't recent federal deficits better explained by Nixon's revenue sharing plans and the resulting growing budget surpluses at the state and local level, and by the unemployed resources that are unable to continue tax revenues.

As mentioned above, the notes and comments do contain important insights. Some part of the recent secular inflation can indeed be traced to the steady movement within all capitalist economies toward the production of services rather than goods—a movement that also places more and more GNP in low productivity sectors, rather than in high productivity industries. And Heilbroner shrewdly debunks the idea of multinationals organizing world production in a planetary system of "rational" design.

More important, however, the author raises a critical question affecting the political outcome of planning. Will the planners give vent to the pressures for redistribution that the next half century will bring? As Heilbroner admits, all history leads us to expect that the powers of government planners will be used to protect the upper echelons of society, both at home and in the world generally. If so, the use of authoritarian, if not totalitarian, measures may be necessary. Yet even if the pressures for redistribution are heeded, he bluntly admits that the tensions and dangers of the long-term future seem likely to push all societies in a statist direction.

Lynn Turgeon is a professor of economics at Hofstra University.

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PERSPECTIVES

Rudi Dutschke killed by the bullets that kindled German terrorism

By Diana Johnstone

RUDI DUTSCHKE, THE BEST known spokesman of the West German student movement of the 1960s, died in exile in Denmark on Christmas eve at the age of 39. The bullets fired into his brain by a deranged assassin in Berlin in April 1968 took nearly a dozen years to kill him. Dutschke



Rudi Dutschke

was more the symbol than the leader of an "anti-authoritarian movement" that was wary of leaders. Like many German radicals of his generation, his political involvement grew out of a Christian moral sense and a perfectionism that showed up in his youthful enthusiasms: Protestant theology and the decathlon. He refused military service in his native East Germany as a conscientious objector, and in 1961, at the age of 21, he moved to West Berlin, shortly before the wall went up. He enrolled in the Free University there and turned from theology to sociology, from religion to politics.

The West German new left of the '60s was based on a double rejection: rejection of the "real socialism" of the Eastern European regimes, and rejection of the "realism" of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) that led it, at its 1959 Bad Godesburg Congress, formally to abandon the Marxist goals of replacing capitalism with socialism. In the process of giving itself a more conservative image, leading up to the election of Willy Brandt as chancellor in 1969, the SPD broke with its Socialist Student Association, the SDS, which went its own way to become the center of the "extra-parliamentary opposition," concerned with principles rather than electoral compromises, and notably with showing solidarity for Third World struggles.

Like many of his contemporaries, Dutschke was strongly influenced by philosopher Ernst Bloch, who contrib-

uted to rehabilitating utopianism by showing that religions express universal hopes for a better society. Dutschke was also influenced by Herbert Marcuse's analysis of the ways in which advanced industrial society suppresses opposition through the authoritarian structures of state power, technological power and the mass media. Dutschke hoped that "consciousness raising" would eventually make it "impossible for the elite to manipulate us."

Dutschke became a main SDS speaker primarily because, although an intellectual, he was also the son of a postal worker. The Axel Springer chain of mass circulation newspapers transformed Dutschke into "Red Rudi," the dangerous firebrand out to destroy civilization. The press campaign peaked after his impassioned speech at a June 1967 Berlin demonstration against the Shah of Iran in which student Benno Ohnesorg was killed by police. That Christmas, Dutschke was beaten up in a church where he went to speak against the war in Vietnam. Threatening letters flooded the SDS office. Undaunted, he named his newborn son Hosea Che, after Che Guevara.

Not everybody in SDS appreciated his flamboyant style. His willingness to play movement star by giving interviews to hostile magazines led to moves to expel

him from SDS.

Then on the afternoon of April 11, 1968, in the heart of downtown West Berlin, a 23-year-old housepainter, Josef Bachmann, who had read about "Red Rudi" in the newspapers, went up to Dutschke and shot him three times in the face. Dutschke was taken to the hospital in a coma, with three bullets lodged in his brain. On Easter Sunday, demonstrations in West German cities against the Springer press ended in violent clashes with police that killed two students in Munich. Bachmann, who said he wanted to kill a "dirty communist," was sentenced to seven years in prison after Dutschke's lawyers argued that he was only the unwitting tool of more powerful forces.

Dutschke was gravely, irreparably wounded, but thanks to good surgeons and his own will power, he survived. He had lost his memory and had to relearn languages and his field of sociology. He began a "consciousness-raising" correspondence with Bachmann to help them both understand what had moved the young worker to try to kill him. Bachmann was apparently affected by this correspondence. According to informed sources, it was after not hearing from Dutschke for a while that Bachmann committed suicide in 1970.

The attack on Dutschke moved a minority of the movement to despair of peaceful political action. "The bullets fired at Rudi put an end to the dreams of non-violence. If you don't take up arms, you die," wrote Ulrike Meinhof, who went on two years later to found the disastrous Red Army Faction with Andreas Baader.

Dutschke, on the contrary, advocated a "long march through the institutions," notably the schools and the media, to try to spread anti-authoritarian awareness. The SPD in the early 1970s helped block this peaceful course by the anti-radical measures generally known as *Berufsverbot*—requiring public employees to display a total but indefinable loyalty to constitutional principles. Many veterans of the 1960s movement ran afoul of the *Berufsverbot* when they tried to get jobs. Some went into voluntary exile. Many more grouped together to create the most vigorous autonomous counter-culture in the West, moving away from class struggle towards ecological issues.

Dutschke himself went to England to convalesce and resume his studies, only to be thrown out as a subversive in early 1971. West German universities were closed to him. In 1971 Denmark let Dutschke take a university teaching job and settle in the town of Aarhus.

Anarchist Daniel Cohn-Bendit, who got labeled "Danny the Red" for his role in the French May 1968 events, but who always had a much more playful approach to politics, described Dutschke as "really possessed by the demon of politics, forever seeking to glimpse some prospect where the forest couldn't be seen for the trees." Cohn-Bendit wrote in the Paris daily *Liberation*, "I'll admit frankly that I couldn't stand his socialist religiosity, but envied his revolutionary drive."

Recently, Dutschke had been moving back in to West German political life, dividing his time between Denmark and Bremen, where he was active in the anti-nuclear movement. Last October, he was thrown out of a Bonn press conference when he tried to ask visiting Chinese head of state Hua Guofeng some hard questions and protested against muzzling procedures "worthy of Eastern Europe." In November, he joined exiled East German dissident Rudolf Bahro and ex-SPD youth leader Johan Steffen in founding a national "Green Party" to run candidates in the 1980 Bundestag elections. Local "green lists" campaigning on ecological issues have had enough success to give the "greens" hope of breaking the five percent barrier to win seats in the Bundestag and replace the fading Liberals as junior partner to the SPD.

Dutschke died in the home of Danish friends where he had gone to celebrate Christmas eve, apparently from striking his head against a bathtub during one of the epileptic seizures he suffered since the 1968 shooting. ■

Organizational Directory

The Directory is published to facilitate contact with organizations frequently referred to in the pages of *In These Times*. Each organization has paid a fee for their listing.

COIN-CONSUMERS
OPPOSED TO INFLATION IN
THE NECESSITIES
2000 P Street, N.W. Suite 413
Washington, D.C. 20036

MIDWEST ACADEMY
600 West Fullerton Ave.
Chicago, IL 60614

NAM-NEW AMERICAN
MOVEMENT
3244 N. Clark St.
Chicago, IL 60657

COALITION FOR A NEW
FOREIGN AND MILITARY
POLICY
120 Maryland Ave., N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002

DSOC-DEMOCRATIC
SOCIALIST ORGANIZING
COMMITTEE
853 Broadway, Room 617
New York, NY 10003

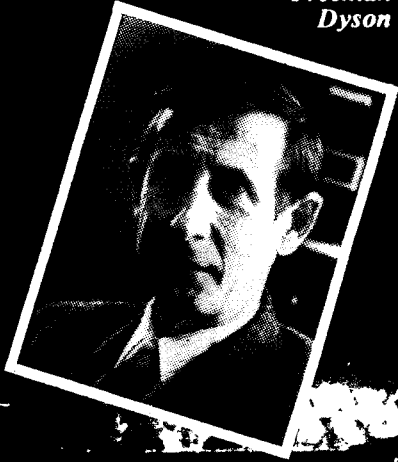
NATIONAL CENTER FOR
ECONOMIC ALTERNATIVES
2000 P Street, N.W. Suite 200
Washington, D.C. 20036

WORKING WOMEN
1258 Euclid Avenue
Cleveland, OH 44111

LIFE IN THE U.S.

HISTORY

Freeman Dyson



In the beginning there was science

By Phillip Johnson

DISTURBING THE UNIVERSE

By Freeman Dyson
Harper and Row, \$12.95

SCIENTISTS IN POWER

By Spencer Weart
Harvard University Press, \$17.50

THE FAUSTIAN DEBATE OVER the limits and uses of knowledge has never been louder, as the world's scientists grope for responsible positions on genetic engineering, *in vitro* fertilization, cloning and nuclear technologies, both fission and fusion.

Apparent failure of recent attempts by scientists to exercise self-regulation in the field of recombinant DNA research underscores one age-old moral problem—the degree to which scientists should withhold information or allow research to be detoured for a larger public good. The role of the chemical companies in forcing the pace of applied “gene-splicing” work and ignoring voluntary controls point up another: the degree to which scientists should allow their work to be shaped by the technological convenience of their corporate sponsors or the perceived needs of their national governments.

The pattern for this debate was set by the course of research into nuclear physics a generation ago. No field of inquiry has more decisively restored meaning to the cliché, “Knowledge is power,” and until the recent, startling advances in biology, no discipline has caused scientists so much ethical agony as that branch of physics which has led to the exploitation of the atom.

Two remarkable recent books painstakingly lay bare the scientists’ dilemma in seeking to control the course of their own research. Theoretical physicist Free-

man Dyson’s lucid, literate memoir is remarkable for the unforced eloquence and calm, compassionate objectivity with which the author relates his experiences in the scientific vanguard. Historian Spencer Weart’s rather dry case study is ordinary in style, but extraordinary in the appropriateness of its subject matter to our current debates over genetic engineering, nuclear fusion, atomic secrecy and a host of other issues.

Dyson makes a mockery of the stereotype of the narrow-focus scientists, blind to everything outside the confines of a single discipline. His interests are startlingly diverse, and his musings in *Disturbing the Universe* range from music to linguistics to space travel to the philosophy of a “world soul.” Dyson’s purpose is to bring a lay reader to an understanding of the human problems faced by scientists by describing in unblinking detail his experiences. Dyson comments on such contemporary concerns as disarmament (he favors a totally defensive weapons strategy), genetic engineering (he quotes Milton’s *Areopagitica* in support of freedom of research) and the development of nuclear power.

Dyson was present at the creation, so to speak. Along with Edward Teller, he was a member of the research team that came up with the design of the first commercially successful nuclear reactor.

He is not opposed to nuclear power on principle. Instead, he indicts the corporations for perverting the course of nuclear research by seizing it from the scientists, committing huge sums to a relatively primitive form of nuclear technology and then rigidly thwarting creative experiment. He points out that the efficient modern design of the motorcycle is the result of trial and error with dozens of models over a period of decades, and suggests that so important and potentially deadly a technology as nuclear power has benefited from far less innovation and improvement than the ordinary Honda.

Scientists and politics.

Scientific historian Spencer Weart chronicles the race—at once theoretical and pragmatic—to master the phenomenon of fission and develop nuclear power during the late ’30s and early ’40s. His *Scientists in Power* is a penetrating and rigorously honest book, which with no attempt at resolution raises all the questions that have been prompted anew by current controversies in the field of biology.

His subject is a little-known but fascinating episode in scientific history—the period during the ’30s when French scientists were at the forefront of nuclear research, while at the same time occupying a significant place in the French power structure.

Weart, director of the Center for the History of Physics at the American Institute of Physics, provides enough information to satisfy lay readers on the general history of nuclear physics during this period. But his real focus is the coterie of scientists that gathered about the renowned Marie and Pierre Curie in the early part of the century, and over a period of three decades became firmly entrenched as part of the left-wing French establishment. By the late ’30s this group of scientists, now represented most prominently by Frederic Joliot, the Curies’ son-in-law, had done enough political groundwork to call their own shots just as the nuclear race was hottest.

Direct participation in the government (through a special arm, dominated by scientists, which organized and funded research) made it possible for Joliot and his associates to mobilize quickly to explore the possibilities of what was then called “artificial radioactivity.” They moved more rapidly than the American scientists under the skeptical Enrico Fermi, and during a crucial period in 1939 had reactor research virtually to themselves. Had it not been for the Nazi occupation, France would almost certainly have built the first nuclear reactor, and very possibly the first nuclear bomb as well.

The French scientific establishment was markedly left-wing, and for the most part overtly socialist. Two generations of scientists in France articulated

the goal of a “scientific utopia.” The connection between research and material progress, and between material progress and social change, was always explicit in their pronouncements. From the earliest breakthroughs, the researchers promised social benefits through the harnessing of the atom—and those benefits in their eyes involved the building of a rational, scientifically socialist society.

Weart’s story becomes a cautionary tale, almost a tragic one, as we see the fate of these hopes. The French scientists found themselves to be pawns in what became an intense, nationalistic competition, rather than an international search for knowledge. They failed completely at drawing a veil of secrecy across those aspects of research which could lead to bombs instead of reactors. Many scientists refused to practice caution even to the extent of keeping such findings out of the hands of the Nazis. The progressive, pacifistic scientists were entirely unable to head off the post-war rush to build reactors, not for material benefit, but for the creation of plutonium for bombs. Joliot himself appears as a genuinely heroic and tragic figure. A hero of the resistance, he joined the Communist Party while working in the anti-Nazi underground. After the war he headed the French nuclear effort, and for a time enjoyed his greatest power. But his political campaigning for social progress through science made him a marked man in the eyes of the increasingly rightist French establishment, and he was forced out, watching from the sidelines as his discoveries were turned to the purposes of a haughtily nationalistic government and the industrial sector.

Spencer Weart has done his work as an earnestly objective historian. Remaining entirely within the historical facts, he provides a good deal of specific evidence against the tendency to view scientific progress as neutral and unidirectional. His case history also demonstrates all too painfully the political realities in an industrial society that strongly militate against the power of scientists to shape their research for humanistic ends. ■

Phillip Johnson is an editor of a weekly newspaper in Eugene, Oregon.

SOUTH
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Currently South End Press is a collective operation staffed by six full time members and aided by three part-time volunteers. We are trying to increase members in the full time collective.

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People interested in joining the SEP collective should inquire at Box 68, Astor Station, Boston, MA 02123. We will have to get together for an interview and collective discussion, and should that prove positive, there is a follow-up one-month trial period for the proposed collective member and the current members to determine whether in practice a new relationship is possible. If interested, please apply soon and write full letters describing background, interests and motivations for applying to South End Press.



A detail from Artemisia Gentileschi's "Judith Beheading Holofernes."

PAINTING

THEIR SIGNATURES WERE PAINTED OVER

THE OBSTACLE RACE: The Fortunes of Women Painters and Their Work
By Germaine Greer
Farrar, Straus and Giroux, \$25.

BY JANE MARCUS

THIS IS A WORK OF AGGRESSIVE scholarship, aptly titled *The Obstacle Race*. While women's struggle toward self-expression may be called an obstacle race, Greer's book also challenges the reader to an obstacle race. A formidable set of footnotes from 10 years of research in European museums and archives rests securely in the back of the book without distracting us from the story she has to tell. And yet each astonishing story sends us to the notes for factual confirmation.

Greer writes here as passionately and provocatively as she did in *The Female Eunuch*. But the very effort of recovering all those lost lives, deliberately misattributed paintings, women's names painted over with the

Russian revolutionary painter Alexandra Exter produced cubist work more exciting than Braque's or Picasso's.

names of male relatives, the hundreds of paintings described in catalogues, but now lost, requires exhaustive and painstaking documentation.

Virginia Woolf once wrote that all notebook literature "produces the same effect of fatigue and obstacle, as if there dropped across the path of the mind some block of alien matter which must be removed or assimilated before one can go on with the true process of reading. The more vivid the note, the greater the obstruction."

I confess to grinding my teeth in rage and slamming the book down at many points. How many men will dare to read this book, facing all those formidable fath-

ers, brow-beating brothers, jealous lovers, demanding egotistical husbands and dependent sons, who stood like obstacles in the path of woman's genius? "Ever since the 1850s observers have been claiming that all the obstacles in the way of women artists have melted away. Every woman who seized a prize or a scholarship or sold a work to a national collection or sat upon a hanging jury stoutly believed that hundreds of women would follow her into the breach in the defenses of the male establishment. The history of art, however, remained virtually unaffected."

Germaine Greer's analysis, however powerful and moving, is not a socially conscious anal-

ysis. "In the last analysis the external obstacles are less insidious and destructive than the internal ones. Poverty and disappointment do not afflict the work itself as effectively as do internalized psychological barriers. All women are tortured by contradictory pressures, but none more so than the female artist."

More insistently, she argues that "feminism cannot supply the answer for an artist, for her truth cannot be political." The question that prompted her research and drove her to write this book—why are there no great women artists—is answered in purely psychological terms. "There is then no female Leonardo, no female Titian, no female Poussin, but the reason does not lie in the fact that women have wombs, that they can have babies, that their brains are smaller, that they lack vigour, that they are not sensual. The reason is simply that you cannot make great artists out of egos that have been damaged, with wills that are defective, with libidos that have been driven out of reach and energy diverted into neurotic channels."

A different art.

What tortures Greer is that women have not had the ruthless ego-strength to compete as geniuses in painting. But limiting discussion to elitist art can be elitist itself. The subject of the neglected European painters is itself a large one, and left out are not only the famous but the living. Further, women's artistic lives have always been rich, although not necessarily in the forms most prized by wealthy collectors. The weaving and spinning, the tapestries and quilts, the clothing, pots and painted porcelain, the growing of gardens, the cooking of food, all are womanly arts that have contributed to the common life of common people as well as the paintings have contributed to the life of the rich.

Greer has some advice for artists working in capitalist countries. The art market controls prices, and her answer is that rich women must buy women's paintings and support the work of women artists. This seems sensible. In the cases of British women's suffrage and the Women's Trade Union League in America, the support of wealthy women paid the salaries of organizers and produced a great deal of work for good causes.

But American women artists have fared better with government support, WPA projects and current grants from the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) than with private donors. The major museums and galleries are still dominated by their private donors, and their boards groan heavily with rich women. It was the NEA that gave support to Judy Chicago's cooperative effort, *The Dinner Party*. The catalog is stunning and the show drew huge crowds in San Francisco, then was cancelled by the Seattle and Rochester museums that had scheduled it.

The response in San Francisco was overwhelming. But why is it all in a warehouse? The cancellation of the Seattle and Rochester showings is indicative of backlash against the innovative cooperative work of feminist artists. The catalogue (Doubleday, \$12.95) may be all that the public gets to see. It is no monument of scholarship like Greer. It is a monument of vision. The vision is in one sense a flawed one, but that does not lessen its impact.

One is struck by the fact that the only women not represented by an often witty labyris are the

black Sojourner Truth; whose head is here, and the lesbian composer, Dame Ethel Smyth whose frustration is represented by a closed piano lid. This tells us that white heterosexual women have difficulty acknowledging the sexuality of black and lesbian women.

But Chicago's work should be shown. It is a rebellion against centuries of breasts and bottoms, male images of nurturing female sexuality. The secret places of women's bodies are exposed on dinner plates. And these glistening porcelain private parts proclaim an independent sexuality that has nothing to do with nurturance, giving, sacrificing, mothering.

Women respond with curiosity and excitement. Men seem to respond at several levels of fear, rage or contemptuous dismissal. This, one imagines, was the effect on the ancients of the sight of the Gorgon's head on a shield. But you can look and you should look. I promise you won't be turned to stone.

Extraordinary lives.

Germaine Greer remains provocative and her book is an important one. The paintings and lives examined are extraordinary. I was particularly struck by her revival of the Russian revolutionary painter Alexandra Exter. Her cubist work was far more exciting than the contemporary work of Braque and Picasso. Revolutionary zeal combined with genius to produce a bold, original painter.

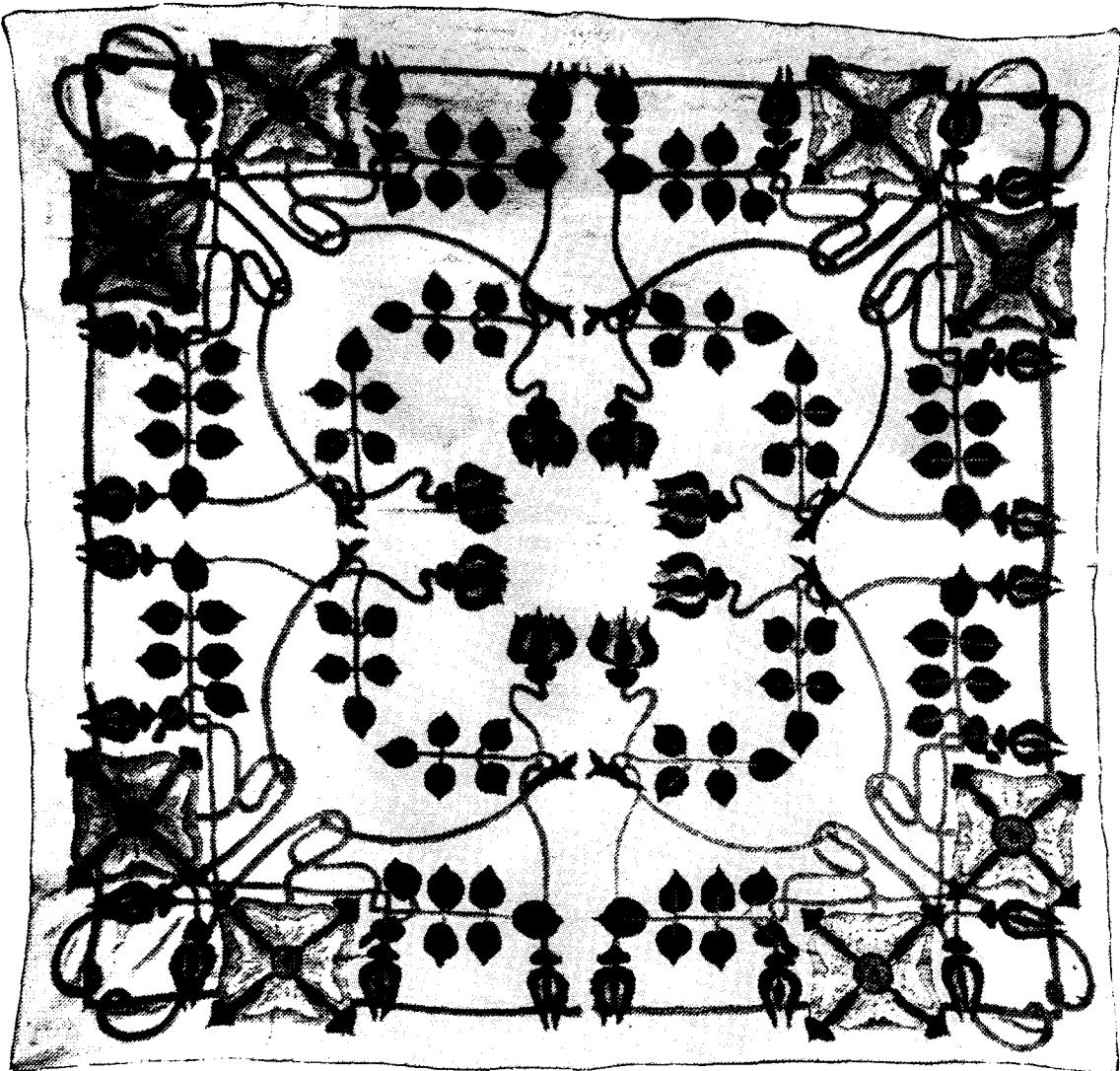
Greer's "magnificent exception," Artemisia Gentileschi, is perhaps the most interesting of the painters she has revived. While Exter's political views were socialist, Gentileschi's 17th century studies of the war between the sexes were influenced by the sexual politics of being raped. There is perhaps no more outspoken rendering of woman's rage than Artemisia Gentileschi's "Judith Beheading Holofernes."

"The strong diagonals of the composition all lead to the focal point, the sword blade hacking at the man's neck from which gouts of blood spray out, mimicking the lines of the strong arms that hold him down, even as far as the rose-white bosom of the murderess...The composition is swung around and tightened into a terrible knot of violence...all the interest centers upon the ferocious energy and application of dark angry Judith, who plies her sword like a peasant woman slaughtering a calf."

Greer suggests that this female icon of violence and hatred both appalls us and makes us admire her "cunning." But it is not cunning but power, female power to take revenge on the rapist or the oppressive ruler, that burns through this painting. Man vanquishing his foes is the subject of countless paintings crowding museum walls. One sight of this Gentileschi painting will tell you all you need to know about why men fear artistic freedom in women.

The backlash has begun. Greer's book has been attacked by Brigid Brophy in the *London Review of Books*, reprinted in the *New York Review of Books*. Brophy not only mocks any attempt at recovering women's history but calls modern feminism "obsessive and totalitarian." Leftists are used to red-baiting. Women scholars had better prepare for the onslaught. ■

Jane Marcus is a scholar who has written on Virginia Woolf. She is currently editing an early 20th century feminist novel for reprinting by the Women's Press.



Pioneering a new style in embroidery was Jessie Newbery at the Glasgow School of Art. Above, a cushion cover, 1899.

Victoria & Albert Museum, London

ARTS AND CRAFTS

MANY NEVER SIGNED THEIR CRAFT WORK

WOMEN ARTISTS OF THE ARTS AND CRAFTS MOVEMENT 1870-1914.
By Anthea Callen
Pantheon \$20, \$10.95 paper.

BY KAREN PETERSON

ANTHEA CALLEN'S NEW book, first published in England as *The Angel in the Studio*, takes

a careful look at the extensive, but heretofore rarely remarked upon, contribution of women to the various arts and crafts revivals of the late 19th century.

Revolting against the invasion of the market with machine-produced fabrics and domestic articles, "the apotheosis of the cheap and the shoddy," William Morris played a central role in reviving and supporting traditional crafts. Morris was inspired

by the ideal of the medieval craft guild. Indeed his firm strongly resembled the ideal, complete with the "ladies of the castle" sitting quietly with their piece of stitchery, but most certainly not members of the club. In fact, despite the very considerable number of craftswomen actively employed in workshops or at home, they were expressly denied membership in the Art Worker's Guild, which had been founded in 1884 to promote a sense of solidarity among architects, designers, artists and craftsmen.

This might not seem so hypocritical were it not for Morris' close ties to the Socialist League and the Marx-Avelings, who had recently published their paper, *The Woman Question*. Callen quotes an account by John Glasier of a meeting where Morris spoke:

Towards the end of the evening Mrs. Neilson, a member of the Ruskin Society and our first woman recruit, surprised us with a little preceptorial address, in which she gently rebuked us for the warlike tones of some of our Socialist utterances, and pressed upon us her view that only by the extension of the franchise to women could Socialism ever be obtained... This was, I believe, almost the first definitely anti-militarist note, and the first sound of new women's agitation that any of us had yet heard. She amused us greatly by admonishing Morris quaintly against becoming conceited because of his genius and the hero worship of his Socialist comrades!

By contrast, Morris' daughter May, head of the embroidery workshop, "was, I observed, inclined rather to ask questions or listen than to offer opinions of her own. She worked at a piece of embroidery as she sat with us." She worked unpaid at that piece of embroidery, as did the other women members of what Callen terms "the Arts and Crafts Elite."

But another group of women in this movement were paid—though not very well. Anthea Callen tells us about the "needy gentlewoman," the middle or upper middle class woman unsupported by men. She points out that receiving payment for your labors was seen as directly akin to prostitution. Tragically, prostitution was the literal fate of displaced lace-makers in the 1840s. By the 1860s there were far more unmarried women than the patriarchal Victorian ideal could manage and irritated voices complained that "unfortunately, till it is removed by emigration or some equally potent remedy, we may never forget that there are too many women in England."

One of the few avenues of support for women of the 19th century was needlework. Yet even in this traditional women's art form, the sexual division of labor operated against them: "The only way to earn a reasonable wage was...to be a pattern setter or designer, and this was always a man's job." The reason put forth to support this was that women had no training in design. But then they had no access to it either. While a fortunate few were able to attend such prestigious academies as the Royal School of Art Needlework, most middle class women embroidered at home or in small groups, according to the specifications of male designers. Their work was then offered for sale in "depots for Ladies Work" with small commissions for each article sold. "Most depots required references, often from clergymen, proving financial need before they would accept a lady's work, and some guaranteed anonymity to protect the ladies from public knowledge of the remunerative nature of their work, and save them from dishonour. The Ladies Work Society was one such, whose lady workers were referred to in the books by numbers only."

This need to hide the fact of their labor has all too effectively obscured women from history and yielded them very little in their own time in the way of remuneration or liberation. The American suffragist, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, saw this very clearly and as early as 1851 warned, "Woman has relied heretofore too entirely for her support on the needle—that one-eyed demon of destruction that slays its thousands annually; that evil genius of our sex, which, in spite of all our devotion, will never make us healthy, wealthy, or wise."

Signed work.

At least one American woman contradicted Stanton's view—Candace Wheeler, who, along with Louis C. Tiffany, Samuel Colman and Lockwood de Forest formed the Associated Artists in 1879 to "serve industry, apotheosize most of the handicrafts,

bring the cult of art into the finest homes of the country, and raise the level of taste in the industrial arts." Wheeler had been overwhelmed by the exhibit of the Royal School of Art Needlework at the Philadelphia Centennial of 1876 and within a year had mobilized her wealthy women friends to form a Society of Decorative Art, which was far from philanthropic in its aims. Wheeler wanted to make "daily breaches in the invisible wall of prejudice and custom that had separated well-bred women from money gaining enterprise."

Unlike Morris' circle, this was entirely a woman-run business with galleries and showrooms devoted entirely to their *signed* work. Wheeler was also very influential in creating what she hoped would become an indigenous American design and used native plants and animals in her embroidery, as well as traditional patchwork design.

Perhaps her most ambitious project was the decoration of the Applied Arts exhibit in the Woman's Building at the Chicago Columbian Exposition of 1893, the site of the first Woman's Congress. For this she selected some 450 pieces of work by women—everything from ceiling and wall decorations, to furniture, magnificent embroidered curtains, and busts of famous women, Susan B. Anthony among them, sculpted by women artists.

Embroidery may reveal more clearly than any other art the peculiar operations of sexual stereotypes and prejudices as they are used against women artists. It is, however, only one of the numerous areas of enterprise detailed by Callen in her book. Ceramics, the lace industry, jewelry and metalwork, wood carving, furniture and interior design, hand printing, book-binding and illustration are all discussed in depth with numerous black and white illustrations of the work and a very useful biographical index of craftswomen.

Despite her esteem for women's work in the arts and crafts movements, Callen questions its value in terms of their liberation. To a very large extent, these arts as practiced in the late 19th century perpetuated sexual stereotypes rather than challenging them, though it is undeniable that the women involved gained a certain measure of financial independence and confidence as a result. It would be very interesting to continue this study into the 20th century, using the Bauhaus or Roger Fry's Omega Workshop as a focus.

Karen Petersen is the co-author, with J.J. Wilson, of *Women Artists: Recognition and Reappraisal*, and has collaborated with Wilson and Mary Stofflet on eight slide programs on women artists for Harper and Row.



William Morris with, counterclockwise, daughter May, Georgiana Burne-Jones, Morris' wife Jane and daughter Jenny.

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MUSEUM EXHIBIT

Worker's-eye view of Shoe City's past

By Rachel C. Kranz

"That machine? Oh, that's a skyver," says the elderly man at the museum. "They had those in every shoe factory you went into. I cut my finger on one of them things 50 years ago and I've still got the mark today." The shoe industry may have left its former headquarters in Lynn, Mass. for the cheaper, non-union pastures of the Sun Belt, South Korea, and Taiwan, but the museum exhibit at the Essex Institute shows that the story isn't over for the shoe workers.

The exhibit, "Life and Times in Shoe City: The Shoe Workers of Lynn," is an attempt to recreate a "worker's-eye picture" of the shoe industry, according to guest curator Keith Melder. Housed at a museum in nearby Salem that has up to now focused on more traditional history, and funded by a \$69,000 grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), the exhibit has drawn heavily on Lynn workers themselves for its photographs, anecdotes, and relics.

This exhibit started with the desire to convey the working, social and domestic lives of Lynn shoeworkers from the craft's beginnings in the 1800s through its flourishing in the Industrial Age, to its decline after WWII. The curators drew on books and local records for the earlier material and on local factories for old machines. But to get more recent objects and information, they had to convince former workers and their families to share their "artifacts" with the museum.

Curators Melder and Ann Farnam, program assistant Marty Blatt, consultant John Fox and intern Naomi Rosenblum sponsored a photo contest, took oral histories, and contacted old union officials and community groups to obtain displays like the Hibernian Club's banner and the boxing gloves of local champ Tony Pavone.

History of the craft.

"At first people didn't know how to react, didn't know what was wanted," Melder recalls. "People often don't have a sense that their possessions have any significance beyond their own lives."

"We also got the reaction 'the shoe game's over, who cares about it anymore?'" says Blatt. The exhibitors insisted that the shoe game might be over, but the tradition of militance and union democracy established by the United Shoe Workers Association was not. And they pointed out that this might be workers' last chance to preserve the history of their craft.

A recent "Old Timer's Day" showed that for many former workers, the craft remains alive. A white-haired man gets out his shoe knife, carefully wrapped in a cloth. "Had it since I was 14," he remarks. "Sixty-two years ago—that's a lot of shoes!"

For others, the memories are not so fond. A man in a black raincoat sniffs and turns away. "Hmph. What's so special about a shoe knife, anyway!"

Another event generated by the exhibit was the First Massachusetts History Workshop, held



Above, a Lynn shoemaker. Right, a typical working class neighborhood in the early 20th century.



October 27 adjacent to the headquarters of a current GE strike in West Lynn. Some 75 former shoe workers, a small group of historians, and a number of striking GE workers got together to discuss workers' lives and union history in the shoe industry. The event was so successful that workshop organizers Blatt, Jim Green and Susan Reverby have been approached by a rank-and-file group of GE workers about a possible session on electrical workers' unions.

Green attributes the success of the event to the six months of

careful planning that preceded it, and to the organizers' commitment to community participation. Many of the participants were recruited by United Shoe Workers Business Agent Jenny Stankiewicz. Although no longer active, the union continues to distribute benefits. Stankiewicz used the contact to urge workers to attend the workshop, helping them to arrange transportation and reminding that free food would be provided. She told the

organizers to present the workshop not as a lecture, but "as a reunion, a party."

The organizers also visited nursing homes and attended senior luncheons sponsored by the local Council on Elders. "We wanted to find out what was on their minds," says Green. "We found out how much people had to offer, how sharp their memories were." The workshop was geared to minimize the role of the historians, who stuck to getting the discussions started. Large and small-group meetings on topics ranging from the labor process to domestic and community life gave everyone a chance to talk.

To Green, one of the most exciting aspects of the workshop was the participation of the younger, striking workers, who got to see first-hand the connection between their own fight and earlier union battles of Lynn.

Young GE strikers met with old-time shoemakers at Institute-sponsored history workshops, learning about earlier union battles at Lynn.

of housing the Shoe Workers exhibit there permanently.

"I see the purpose of the exhibit as giving people the sense that the lives of ordinary people are important, an essential ingredient of our historical past," says Melder. Much of the exhibit's success, he feels, owes to the extent to which the people of Lynn have kept their history alive—in photographs, memorabilia, and memories.

Earlier, a visiting shoe worker asked after a certain machine and was told that it couldn't be found. "Why, you should have looked over at the Schwartz & Benjamin plant," he says, astonished, "they've had one there in their basement for the past 100 years!"

The Shoeworkers Exhibit runs Sept. 13-Jan. 27. For more information on the Lynn History Workshop, write to Jim Green, College of Public and Community Service, Univ. of Massachusetts, Boston, Mass. 02125. Rachel C. Kranz is an independent video producer and writer in Boston.

RIUS

Continued from page 24.

cartoonists who are struggling for socialism. We've seen the examples of the Soviet Union, Poland, Rumania, and lately Cuba, where the cartoonist's role tends almost to be unappreciated, or at least not put to full advantage.

Some feel that the cartoonists can't fit into a new system in which is job as critic isn't essential. The reasoning goes like this: a cartoonist is usually against the system, and so when he's part of a new system, with a government which isn't against his ideas, what does he or she do? It's hard to re-adapt.

The problem with all cartoonists in the socialist countries is that their field of action has

been limited, and they've had to seek out other aspects of caricature, so they now do a very poetic and philosophical kind of caricature.

Have any of their cartoons impressed you?

Yes, the hav outstanding cartoonists, but their humor has developed in areas where we can't compete. All of the Polish or Yugoslav cartoonists are doing great things, but it's a cerebral and abstract humor we don't really understand.

There are beautiful animated films from Eastern Europe.

Yes, but it's on another level, one we can't conceive of in our country, where we have our own tasks and can't dedicate ourselves to a caricature that is visually gorgeous but that often says nothing. It's not among our people's needs yet. It's not for our moment—for theirs,

maybe, but not ours.

The Canadian Film Board also puts out such things as cartoons about vertical lines.

Yes, but they end up being just pretty—and elitist. Our situation in Mexico is so different, with our underdevelopment.

What about your future projects?

I'm working permanently on full-length books. I've got a biography of Trotsky in the works, and a book to be called "The Compleat Atheist." And of course the regular work for the daily press.

Are you going to keep on with the weekly comic book?

No, this year I'm killing off the weekly comics. After 15 years, the job has become exhausting, almost alienating. I'm taking a long rest from the genre. later on I plan to do another type of comic book. [The day after this interview, the final is-

sue of *Los Agachados* appeared on the newsstands.]

Many people in the U.S. read you.

Yes, it's been one of my greater satisfactions. The book on Cuba had appeared there before, but it never enjoyed the circulation that the *Marx* did.

There was also a translation of your comic book dealing with the Chicanos.

Ah, yes, there've been a number of piratings up there.

Piratings?

The book on Cuba was pirated, and another one on *The Communist Manifesto*, and even the *Marx* book was printed in a limited edition up in California. But this edition of *Marx* is quite pleasing to me.

Gene Bell-Villada is on leave from Williams College, where he teaches Latin American literature.

»SPORTSCENE«

Why athletes can't read

By Mark Naison

A new college basketball scandal is brewing, and it should be used as a platform to reform college sports.

At the University of New Mexico, FBI investigators acting on an NCAA tip eavesdropped on the conversation between an assistant basketball coach and the official of a summer extension college. They worked out a deal to give six players credit for a course they never attended.

When this was leaked to the press New Mexico officials suspended the coaching staff and the six players and launched an investigation into the academic records of scholarship athletes. They discovered that several other athletes had received credit for fictitious courses and that others had been kept eligible by subterfuge after failing courses.

Similar investigations were then launched at Oregon, Oregon State and Utah, where basketball and football players participated in the same "summer extension program" as the New Mexico athletes. Several suspensions have resulted.

Campuses have athletic governing boards into which faculty input is required, but they have usually functioned as rubber stamps for athletic department policies. But now partly because of concern about declining standards of literacy—which teachers experience every day in their classrooms—faculty members have begun to pay greater attention to the demoralizing effect of big-time college sports programs on the educational process, particularly as it affects black and working class students.

Because of the prestige, glamor and money that college sports command, the miseducation of college athletes has a ripple effect downward to high school and even junior high. The willingness of hundreds of colleges and junior colleges to recruit athletes who fail to demonstrate even minimal academic competence (many don't even require college boards) has encouraged secondary schools in poor neighborhoods to pass through athletes without forcing them to do classroom work or prepare for entrance examinations.

Top inner city athletes, when they take standardized tests, perform at a level that suggests the total collapse of urban school systems. In New York last year only a handful of top inner city basketball prospects had combined SAT scores of over 700. All were recruited by Ivy League schools.

When one considers that these athletes have been besieged by college recruiters since they were high school sophomores, wine and dined and sent on trips, these statistics are not surprising. Told from an early age they can attend college exclusively on the basis of sports, many athletes approach education with a shortsighted cynicism reinforced by the "hustler mentality" so ingrained in poor city neighborhoods.

None of this is news, but it is occurring on an unprecedented scale and with a nasty racial twist. At the University of New Mexico all the suspended athletes—who were enrolled in the extension course by coaches without the athletes' knowledge—were black.

At other big time sports schools blacks often bear the brunt of questionable academic counseling, graduating at a far lower rate than their white teammates.

Educational neglect of college athletes is a form of class and racial bias in our educational system. Universities should commit themselves publicly to educational opportunity for athletes they recruit, and they should insure that all such athletes earn college degrees. Universities should also place the recruitment, admission and academic eligibility of athletes under direct faculty supervision. Universities should fund support services for athletes, supervised by the faculty.

The main message of college sports, as the latest scandal shows, is that the classroom isn't important.

Steve Kagan

ty, including compulsory summer courses in reading and math, and professional tutoring during the school year. Finally, athletic scholarships should be valid until graduation, not just for four years of athletic eligibility.

Many universities can be compelled to yield to such demands. Civil rights and legal rights organizations should initiate lawsuits on behalf of athletes recruited for college sports and shunted into non-degree granting programs. State legislators should launch investigations of college sports programs in state universities.

In the U.S. today sports is too important a cultural symbol—and too big a business—to be left to coaches and athletic administrators. Despite NCAA halftime claptrap about the educational value of athletics, the main message of the college sports machine—especially to the poor and the black—is that the classroom isn't important. At a time when minimal literacy is required for survival, college sports too often serves to lock people into the poverty from which it seems to promise an escape.

For more information on reforming college sports programs, write Mark Naison c/o Afro-American Studies, Fordham University, Bronx, NY 10458.

KRASSNER PREDICTS

By Paul Krassner

Chief Justice Warren Burger—in utter humiliation over *The Brethren*, an expose of the Supreme Court's violation of the spirit of the law—will take his life with an overdose of artificial ingredients. However, his suicide note will be written by the other eight justices.

Burt Reynolds and David Steinberg will come out of the closet by appearing together on the Merv Griffin show and singing a duet of Stand By Your Man.

The State Department officials who followed intelligence warnings about Jonestown by ignoring them, it will be learned, are the very same officials who followed intelligence warnings about Iran by ignoring them. The government will react by establishing a new federal commission, the Coincidence Control Center.

The Mormon Church and the CIA will merge.

FBI files will prove that Scientology once tried to rescue former boxing champ Joe Louis by kidnapping him from a mental hospital so that they could then convert and showcase their first black celebrity.

Charles White will discover that his Heisman Trophy is bugged.

Henry Kissinger will undergo a special operation, a reverse circumcision; his foreskin will be grafted back onto his waiting penis.

Dr. John Lilly will communicate with dolphins by utilizing computers. They will explain that brain size has nothing to do with intelligence and that tuna fish are really smarter.

Woody Allen will lend his name to a line of designer jeans with crab lice.

Douglas Schmidt will serve as attorney for the Shah in an international court of justice; the defense will be that he ate too much halvah.

The junk food industry will join the struggle for decriminalization of marijuana.

Whitney Chase will be charged with running a nationwide pederasty ring, using his Chase-Manhattan Bank's short-term loan department as a front.

The Crippled Liberation Front will invade the CBS Evening News in progress, shouting "Disabled Power!"

The Disney Corporation will fire Goofy for fucking Minnie Mouse. Feminist groups will split over whether they should demand that Goofy be re-hired or that Minnie Mouse be fired too.

The Mike Douglas show will feature a symposium of show biz celebrities discussing whether George Orwell's 1984 was a warning or a blueprint.

Arthur Bremer—whose attempted assassination of George Wallace gave twenty million votes to Richard Nixon—will be released from prison. Lillian Carter will offer him a million dollars to kill Billy Carter.

There will be a world-wide religious war between those who believe we are all one and those who don't.

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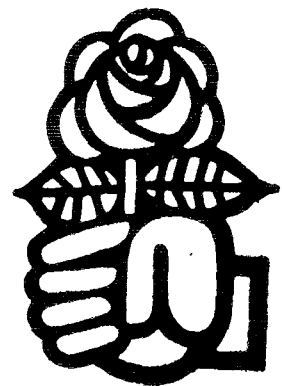
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By Gene Bell-Villada

"Rius" is a pen name of Mexican left cartoonist Eduardo del Rio, whose *Marx for Beginners* (Pantheon) has sold over 31,000 copies in its first six months in the U.S. Also popular in the U.S. are his *Cuba for Beginners* (Pathfinder) as well as *The Chicanos* and *The Communist Manifesto*, both comic books.

Before becoming a cartoonist Rius spent six years in a Catholic seminary. Later he worked variously as government bureaucrat, street vendor and undertaker. In the mid '60s he began single-handedly putting out a weekly comic book, initially with the ironic title *Los Supermachos*, later renamed *Los Agachados* ("The Stooped-Over Ones") after a falling out with the first publishers. The weekly magazine quickly became so popular that it would sell out on hitting the stands.

Rius cartoons regularly poke fun at governmental policy, at traditional Catholic teachings and at officials who have no faith in the ability of workers and peasants to enact change. His cartoons ridicule U.S. cultural as well as political domination of Mexico, and in the process the Mexican middle class comes in for sharp caricature. He describes himself as a socialist, and he reserves the right to sharpen his pencil against sanctimony and double-talk wherever he finds it.

Rius is a soft spoken, modest man in his mid 40s. The following interview took place in Mexico City, in the home of his friend Rogelio Naranjo, a highly regarded cartoonist whose drawings appear regularly in the newsweekly *Proceso*.

Why did you become a cartoonist?

I always liked to draw. At the seminary I made drawings, but always on the basis of copying from other drawings. It's probably a fault, but I never was able to study drawing. It shows, I think. On the other hand, when you're self taught you come up with your own stuff. At any rate I chose my teachers—Saul Steinberg for example.

I started out copying him, almost tracing him. He was one of my idols—still is. Steinberg started out making highly realistic cartoons. What I most liked was his line. Steinberg's was the first modern line in cartooning.

Why do you use a pen name?

My family didn't want me to go into journalism. They felt with some reason that it held no future for me, and that the world of reporters wasn't too healthy. There was—still is—too much boozing, at least in Mexico. So I latinized "del Rio" into "Rius." But it turns out to be a common Catalan name—there are thousands of Riuses in Barcelona—so everyone thought I was Catalanian.

Your education was a conservative and a religious one.

Yes—I don't plan to end up like Stalin, but I think we started out alike. Trotsky

also was a seminarist. Many people who started out on the far right end up, if not on the far left, at least on the left.

The interlude between the seminary and cartooning was most valuable—it was my apprenticeship in life. It wasn't drawing I needed to study, but other things.

How did you first think of putting out a weekly comic book?

Those comics were born out of hunger. None of the Mexican papers were giving me any work. I'd been kicked out of all of them. I was getting ready to take up some other line of work, when I got this offer to produce a weekly.

I saw the chance to transform the ordinary comic book into a different sort of book, to use a weapon normally used for malevolent ends and giving it another use. I consider the comic book medium one of the most effective vehicles for conveying ideas to a reader, especially to readers who don't normally read.

Just 15 years ago, comic books were anathema to the left, were thought of as Donald Duck, Superman and all that. But no one had thought of using that same medium.

How did *Marx for Beginners* come to you?

Well, it grew out of a drunken bet, as a result of *Cuba for Beginners*. A friend said to me, "Well, what you've got to do now is explain Marx." And drunk as I was, I said, "Hey, yes, let's do it." I was hoping this friend would help me

with the text—he's a very respected Marxist here in Mexico. But he never did it. I then started reading Marx, trying to understand him. And in the process it got easier for me to help readers understand him too. I don't think it's a very good book, but some people seem to find it useful.

How do you prepare a comic book?

I work pretty much alone. At times I turn to specialists, since there are some tough subjects, such as nuclear power. So I ask a friend, a professor, an author. I dig up whatever has been published or is available here in Mexico.

It's a long and arduous process. You read maybe 10 books, see the different points of view, try to arrive at a more or less objective conclusion and also throw in some humor. It's quite a job, making an arid topic into something funny.

I don't set up a first outline. Once I've read the books, I more or less have an idea in my head and I develop it as I'm drawing along. So sometimes they don't come out the way they should.

Your books contain all kinds of graphics—ancient, medieval, scientific.

Yes, over the years I've become a scissors maniac. Partly I insert them to save myself work and partly to help set up the themes I'm dealing with. But it's usually out of laziness, to avoid having to draw.

It's also a chance to put before the reader an aspect of culture that may be unfamiliar to him. Besides, those pictures are nice to look at, they liven up the text.

What impact does the magazine have?

At this point we're in decline. When you make a weekly comic book 15 years, everyone gets saturated—the market, the readers, the cartoonist. The work gets to be tedious and routine, you repeat yourself.

But in our days of glory, at our peak, we were selling 250,000 copies—which in Mexico is astounding. The magazine made no concessions; it wasn't meant only as entertainment, but to get people to reason, to think. The figures can't compare with those magazines that deal with sex or romance, with their sales in the millions. But certainly we took an important step with those comic books.

There was a time when I was getting higher ratings than Cantinflas [a renowned Mexican comedian]. Some people were even doing write-ins for me as President!

Are there American cartoonists who interest you?

R. Crumb, yes, and the Freak Brothers [Gilbert Shelton]. There was a phase when American cartooning interested me a lot, because it was breaking away from everything that had been done before in U.S. comic strips. Unfortunately the movement seems to have vanished, maybe drugs did them in, I don't know what happened.

Actually, comics like those keep coming out, though with less of a reputation.

RIUS



I've always been fascinated by those comic strips that manage to get outside the system, for instance R. Cobb. He made a series of drawings for one of those underground papers. Very well worked and powerful, all of them against the system. He specialized in cartoons attacking ecological destruction and also the police. He had to leave, exiled or fleeing, I'm not sure, and went to Australia, where he's still making books. I believe Cobb is one of the great American cartoonists.

Walt Kelly also attracted me. His *Pogo* got outside that whole mainstream of commercialist cartooning. And *The New Yorker* has always had excellent cartoonists.

Another group that once interested me was the crowd that started *MAD*. Sadly, it too ended up within the system. But at first those people, Kurtzman, Davis, were revolutionizing American comics. The *Lampoon* people are their heirs. It's surprising, in the U.S. there have always been first-rate cartoonists, very talented and valuable.

Do you detect any Crumb influence in certain Mexican humor magazines?

It's minimal. There's more European influence, because at present there's better cartooning being done in Europe than in the U.S.

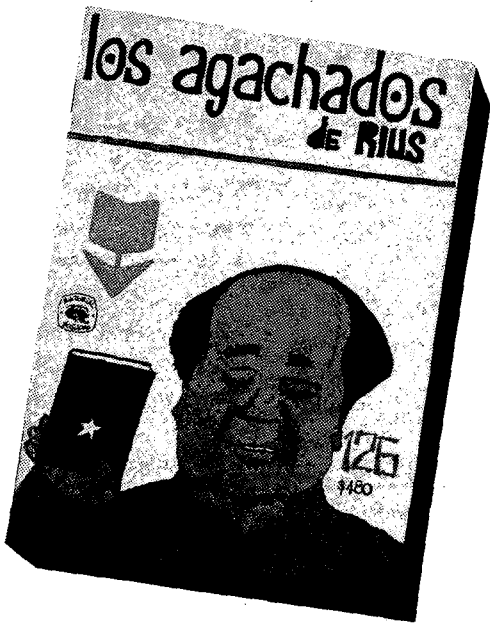
Such as the long Danish cartoon, *The History Book*?

Yes. I even adapted that film to Mexico. I did a book called *The Truculent History of Kapitalism*, based on the movie. They printed my book on Cuba over there, but they didn't have anything to pay me any royalties with, so they yielded me the rights to *The History Book* to set it in Mexico. So I did.

Is there a tradition of left cartooning?

I think that in all countries there is a stage when cartooning stands out. In Argentina it's remarkable what's been done during dictatorships. Cartoonists demonstrate an extraordinary skill at getting things past the censors. It's the same in Brazil, in a magazine called *O Pasquim*.

'Cartooning is a code. Your wits work best when you're coping with repression.'



("The Lampoon"), where the cartoonists, with the censors breathing over them and even planted in their staff, have managed to say amazing things against the very system. It's a skill that has to be studied. A lot was also done in Franco's Spain. It serves as a code, writing and reading between the lines. Those are the extraordinary periods in caricature. The cartoonists's wits function best when he's got repression to cope with.

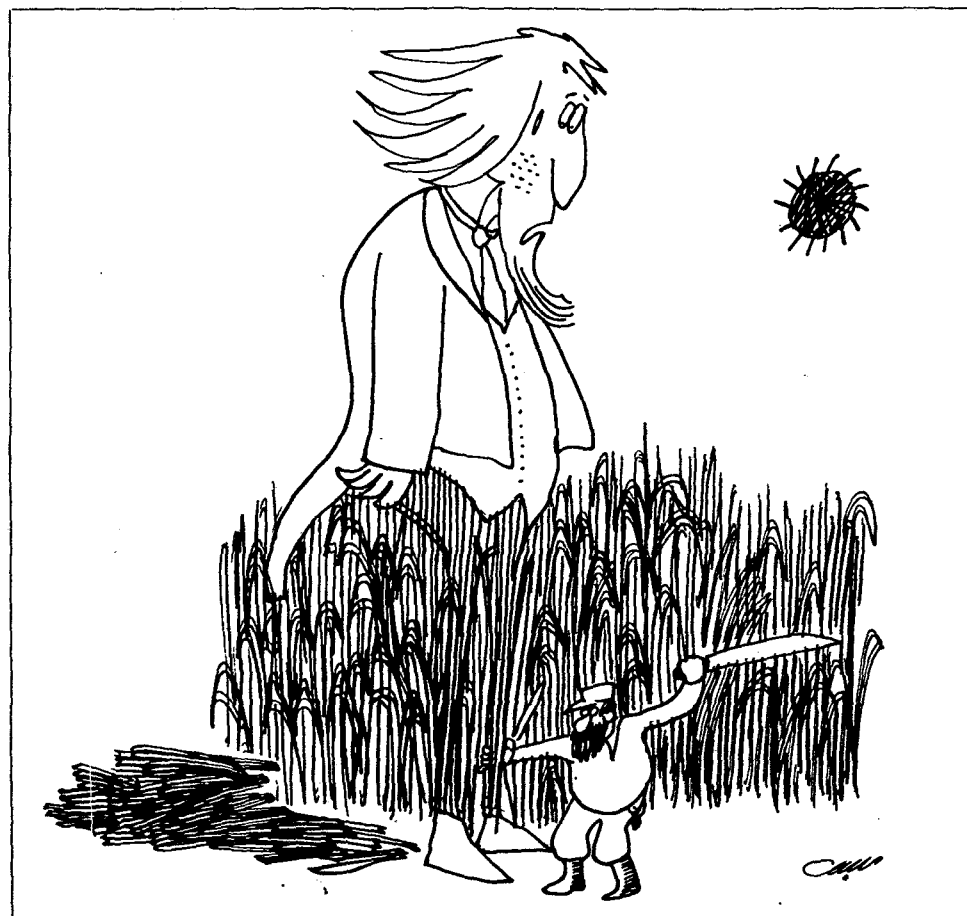
And not in times of positive change or growth?

In a new situation, such as socialism, you get a peculiar phenomenon. Caricature almost disappears, gets soft, loses its critical qualities.

Do you see a special role for cartoonists in left political culture?

This issue has recently preoccupied us

Continued on page 22.



Rius' *Cuba for Beginners*, (above, an illustration from the book) was immensely popular internationally, and his comic *Los Agachados* (right) popular in Mexico.